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Latvians in Michigan

Charles A. Lewis

LATVIA, MADE UP OF AN AREA on the eastern border of the Baltic Sea approximating West Virginia in size and present-day Detroit in population, was proclaimed a free republic on November 18, 1918. This status was recognized by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers about two years later. Estonia and Lithuania, lying to the north and south, were likewise recognized as republics in this early post-World War I era. All three thus gained independence from Russia, of which they had been a part, under the Czarist regime, for the two centuries preceding.

Earlier than this the territory, from which the three nations were created, had served as a boundary and battleground between German and Slav expansions, a much fought-over connecting link between West and East.

In World War II, the territory of the three Baltic nations resumed its role as a battleground, and the young sister states lost the freedom which they had enjoyed for twenty-two years. As a result of invasions from the East and West, many Latvian citizens were driven from their homes, forced into labor projects or exile, and finally into concentration camps. The three republics were ravished first by Russia in 1940, under a German-Russian agreement; then, by Germany in 1941; then again, by Russia in 1944. Today, Russia controls the whole area, claiming it as an integral part of the Soviet Union, technically known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The United States has never recognized these claims, and is still recognizing a Latvian minister in Washington.

The displaced persons act of 1948 permitted Latvians, as well as citizens of many other ravaged nations, to come to the United States in unprecedented numbers. This wholesale migration was made possible by the use of future quota allotments, on a borrowing-ahead basis.

For the first time in her two and one-half centuries of recorded history, Michigan experienced between June, 1949, and February, 1952, a major wave of Latvian migration—an influx which may

prove to be the last as well as the first of its kind.¹ This phenomenon took place during the thirty-odd months when the displaced persons act was effective and displaced nationals of the Baltic republic came to the United States. About 2,100 of them came to the peninsular state, and of these about 525 came to Detroit. This study is concerned principally with the latter group.²

The movement of these Latvian displaced persons into Detroit and the provisions for their initial care in that city represent a type of refugee resettlement with highly unusual features. For Detroit, in common with many other cities of the United States, had virtually no Latvian population. At the time the displaced persons migration began in 1949, fewer than a hundred persons from the Latvian area lived in Detroit.³ Virtually all of them had come to the United States in the pre-World War I era, before Latvia had become an independent republic, and they were, by 1949, rather well acculturated.

The relatively few Latvians who had settled in the United States before the immigration quota provisions of the 1920's had gone, for the most part, to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.⁴ After the quota enactments, almost no Latvians had come to any part of the United States. Quota allotments were meager.⁵

¹This study of a very modern migration of Latvian nationals to this state and the establishment here of a Latvian ethnic culture under somewhat unusual conditions has been drawn by the author from a larger study. During the years 1952 to 1954 he conducted in southeastern Michigan a survey of three ethnic groups for a doctoral dissertation entitled "Communication Patterns of Recent Immigrants: A Study of Three Nationality Groups in Metropolitan Detroit." One of the groups studied were the Latvians who had been admitted under the displaced persons act. The story of their migration proved to be of special interest and vastly different from the influx of most national groups. The story is told here as of 1954, the date the survey was completed.

²Besides this original migration of Latvians into Detroit, there has been an additional influx from rural Michigan and from other states. According to estimates of Detroit leaders, Latvian displaced persons in Detroit with their offspring numbered nearly seven hundred in 1954.

³When we conceive of Latvians of pre-World War I days we think of those persons born in the territory which later comprised free Latvia, for the country as such did not exist at that time.

⁴Wittke points out that in 1930 half of the United States Latvian group lived in these four cities. See Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant*, 434 (New York, 1940).

⁵Census statistics show that in 1930 there were only 20,673 persons in the United States who listed Latvia as their place of birth; by 1940, this number had decreased to 18,636. The quota under the Immigration Act of May 26, 1924, had been 236 per year, based on the national origins formula. This formula was not actually effectuated until 1929. This quota was used in 1946, 1947, and 1948, but after the displaced persons act was passed in the last-

Many non-Latvian displaced persons who came to Detroit found themselves there because persons of their ethnic extraction, already residing in that area, had offered to sponsor them under the displaced persons act. Likewise, many regular-quota immigrants, also governed by requirements of sponsorship, had had their Detroit settlement facilitated by persons of similar ethnic background. Thus, many Polish displaced persons, for example, and most Italian immigrants, when settled in Detroit, found themselves among persons with whom they felt close ties and either in or near ready-made nationality communities. The Latvians, in contrast, were befriended only by persons of differing ethnic background, and always in neighborhoods where nationality associations and traditions were unknown. Their re-establishment had to be accomplished without the aid of new country nationality culture.

Actually, Latvians were channeled to Detroit because there existed in that city an active religious group of the faith which most Latvians embraced, namely, Lutheranism. Humanitarian considerations inspired this group to help the Latvians. Detroit Lutherans, working in cooperation with larger groups, chiefly of their own faith, made it possible for the Latvians to emigrate and find homes in Detroit.⁶

The resettlement program was in the hands of the Lutheran church, to which about 69 per cent of the Latvians in Latvia belonged.⁷ An agency of the Roman Catholic church also helped in certain phases of the migration movement, but did not work directly

named year admission was simpler and faster under that act. It has been computed that under this provision it will not be possible to resume the full quota until the year 2274. Total registration for this quota in August, 1952, was 9,104. Those awaiting admittance are largely Latvian nationals in Sweden, Germany, and Great Britain. See *Whom We Shall Welcome, Report of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization*, 104 (Washington, 1952). For the national-origins provisions, see *Immigration and Nationality Laws and Regulations as of March 1, 1944*, 48-49 (Washington, 1944).

⁶Note the distinction between this type of migration in which the religious group served as a facilitating agency to make political immigration possible, and the situation in many of America's early colonial settlements wherein the newcomers were political immigrants in the cause of religion. For a review of pre-World War II refugee movements, see Frances L. Reinhold, "Exiles and Refugees in American History," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 203:63-69 (May, 1939).

⁷This 1938 figure (actually 69.38 per cent) is the final one available from Free Latvia. See Alfreds Bilmanis, *Latvia As An Independent State*, 172 (Washington, Latvian Legation, 1947).

with resettlement in Detroit.⁸ Finally, a number of nongovernmental, nonreligious agencies were concerned with the work at local, state and national levels. But the Lutherans actually arranged for the resettlement in Detroit of approximately 95 per cent of the Latvians who came to that city.⁹ Thus, the resettlement pattern followed religious lines, and the Latvians found themselves befriended and aided, not by those who were close to them in ethnic tradition, but by those who shared a religious faith with them.

In the case of the Poles and Italians, the church that served the displaced persons was a transplanted national institution, offering not only the familiar religious ritual and faith, but even the national characteristics peculiar to the older culture, including the major communication device of a common language.¹⁰ In Detroit's Latvian settlement, this was not the case. Initially, at least, the church functioned without the aid of any peculiarly national patterns.¹¹ Further, the role of the church during that early period transcended the roles of all other institutions and communication media. The church was essentially the only tie which bound them to the "old" life as they struggled psychologically and physically to gain footings in the "new."

In its broader aspects, the Lutheran program was not only city-wide, but world-wide. Activities in Detroit were centered in a local institution, the Lutheran Charities. The executive director of this institution was the Rev. Harry Wolf, an ordained minister of the American Lutheran Church. Having taken over the responsibility

⁸The Roman Catholic church claimed 26.36 per cent of the Latvians in Latvia as members in 1938. Bilmanis, *Latvia As An Independent State*, 172.

⁹The accuracy of this figure is affirmed both by Lutheran agency records and by the records of the Michigan Commission on Displaced Persons. Not all Latvians encompassed in this percentage were Lutherans.

¹⁰For a discussion of the nationality aspects of Roman Catholicism in the United States, see Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 117-38 (Boston, 1951).

¹¹Most numerous among Lutheran churches in the United States with old-country nationality ties are the Evangelical Lutheran (Norwegian), the American Lutheran (German), and the Augustinian Evangelical Lutheran (Swedish). Only six Latvian Lutheran congregations were ever established in the United States up to the present decade: in Boston, 1891; in Philadelphia, 1893; in New York and Baltimore, 1896; in Chicago, 1897; and in Lincoln, Nebraska, 1898. See Arved Svabe, *Latvju Enciklopedija*, 1247 (Stockholm, 1952). Detroit, with a proportionately smaller Latvian population than any of these other centers, saw not even the promise of such a congregation until February, 1950, when the displaced persons influx led to the organization of a Latvian Lutheran congregation. See below, p. 399.

for the southeastern Michigan phase of the Lutheran project, the Lutheran Charities under his direction worked vigorously to obtain individual sponsors' signatures.¹² The virtual absence in Detroit of both relatives and fellow countrymen of the proposed Latvian settlers meant that the signing of affidavits had to be on a nonfamily and nonethnic basis. Mr. Wolf himself signed many of the guarantees.¹³

The Latvians who came to the United States under the displaced persons act were nationals of the young Baltic republic who, for various reasons, found themselves outside Latvian borders when the war ended. Those inside Latvia were, according to Russia's interpretation, inside the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and hence were not granted exit permits.

Latvian nationals outside Latvia at the war's end may be grouped into three categories, each of which supplied some of the Detroit newcomers: (1) Civilians who had been taken out of the country as slave laborers and political prisoners into Germany and Russia. Of these, only those taken into Germany were in displaced persons camps at the end of the war, since those taken into Russia rarely found means of returning from the Iron Curtain territory. (2) Civilians who, on their own initiative, had gone to Germany or Sweden when the second Russian invasion took place in 1944. (3) Soldiers who had been drafted into a Latvian legion formed by Hitler in 1943.¹⁴

¹²This was to fulfill the United States requirement that individual citizens sponsor the various displaced persons, each sponsor giving certain written assurances regarding employment, public dependence, and assistance.

¹³Along with Mr. Wolf's vigorous leadership, another prime factor in the stimulation of the project was the work of one Latvian woman, Mrs. Ludmila Jacobson, who had come to Detroit under the regular immigration quota three months before the displaced persons act was passed. The Lutheran resettlement program, which was concentrated in southeastern Michigan, was not the only settlement program for Latvians under religious auspices in the state. There were active resettlement projects in Grand Rapids, where assurances were forwarded to the Michigan Commission on Displaced Persons by the Aid to Displaced Persons Corporation, made up of representatives of various Protestant churches; and in Kalamazoo, where assurances were forwarded to the commission by the Kalamazoo Committee on Displaced Persons, largely through the initiative of the Rev. Janis Laupmanis, a Latvian Methodist minister.

¹⁴Latvians were often forced by threats of reprisal to join this group, Latvian informants said. The two divisions in the legion fought only against the Russians.

The first family to come to Michigan under the project arrived in Detroit June 8, 1949;¹⁵ the last, on February 7, 1952.¹⁶ The process of settlement within Detroit followed various patterns, determined in large part by availability of housing. Where sponsors had been unable to locate housing facilities and were not in a position to take the displaced persons into their own homes Lutheran Charities took them for temporary shelter to its own headquarters building at 484 East Grand Boulevard. Here, a large first-floor room was converted into minimum living space for several families. Basement cooking facilities were utilized.

The provision of adequate permanent housing was left largely in the hands of the signers and, where these sponsors finally reported failure to find housing, in the hands of other volunteers. In a few instances, Lutheran Charities provided the first month's rent, but in general, Lutheran Charities did much more to find jobs than to find housing.¹⁷ Emphasis here is put upon the Lutheran role in aiding the Latvians simply because in magnitude the Lutheran work vastly overshadowed all the rest.

Actually there were four other ways in which Latvians were brought into Detroit and Michigan: one, through individual sponsors writing directly to the Displaced Persons Commission in Washington and providing the required assurances; two, through individuals providing assurances to the Michigan Commission on Displaced Persons,¹⁸ an agency which proceeded to investigate and to

¹⁵The particular family, that of Janis Berzins and his wife, Milda, was destined not for Detroit but for a farm near Herron in the Alpena area. Mr. Wolf established in this instance a custom which he later followed in all cases of Latvian Displaced persons coming through Detroit enroute elsewhere in Michigan. He met the family at the Detroit railway station and helped them to the next train. This family, which included three sons, Juris, Valdis, and Janis, Jr., later moved from Herron to Edmore.

¹⁶By coincidence, the head of this last family was also named Janis Berzins—a name common in Latvia. The members were: the father; the mother, Zelma; and two daughters. Daughter Zegrda is now working in Detroit as a draftsman. Daughter Karmena attended Southwestern Texas State Teachers College and is now a student at Wayne University. The family had received visas at the time of the expiration of the Displaced Persons Act on December 31, 1951.

¹⁷Difficulties in job-finding were experienced at first, because in 1949 and 1950 the job-placement situation in Detroit was rather poor. But the American sponsors gave every possible aid and as business conditions improved the Latvians were able to find jobs. They appear to have ceased depending on their American benefactors as quickly as possible.

¹⁸The state displaced persons commission and committees played a signifi-

recommend appropriate action to the Displaced Persons Commission in Washington; three, through individual contact with the Latvian Relief in New York City, an agency which actually functioned only in the initial phases of the displaced persons immigration pipeline; and, four, through the American Federation of International Institutes, of which Detroit's International Institute, Inc. at 111 East Kirby is the Detroit representative.

The nongovernmental agencies, of course, performed their services unofficially, serving the individual sponsors on the one hand and the Displaced Persons Commission on the other. The commission maintained an accredited list of such agencies and cooperated with them. The agencies, themselves, encouraged by the official recognition, actually did more than merely act as go-betweens. They campaigned for sponsors, maintained pier services, and often paid or loaned money for train transportation, which theoretically was to be paid by the individual sponsors.

Since the incoming Latvians did not find any Latvian neighborhoods in Detroit, and since the Latvians who resided in the city were few, widely scattered, and in an advanced stage of acculturation, there was no real fusion of old and new.

The fusion that did occur was with American residents of Detroit. The associations which brought about this fusion were chiefly with the sponsors and with neighbors, the former relationships being considerably the more intimate. Some Latvians actually stayed with American sponsors while awaiting homes of their own. Even with sponsors' help, houses were difficult to obtain because of the shortage. Later, as new homes were obtained and occupied, associations were established with neighboring families, who frequently offered gestures of friendship after learning of the Latvian newcomers through the Lutheran church.¹⁹ Other levels of association

cant part in the displaced persons program and contributed to its success. John Panchuk, then a Detroit attorney and later practicing in Battle Creek, was the chairman of the state commission. Miss Florence G. Cassidy of Detroit's United Community Services (formerly the Council of Social Agencies), was secretary. Miss Cassidy received from the displaced persons commission in Washington the complete displaced persons passenger list for each incoming ship, met trains from New York which transported the newcomers, and took an active part in their resettlement problems.

¹⁹Apparently, no Latvian was absorbed as a long-time resident of an established "later-generation" American family.

were found in the various occupational groups in which the Latvians worked and in the schools, the latter contacts being motivated in large part by the children in the family.

About 75 per cent of the Latvians came to Detroit in family groups, and the family homes which they established were widely scattered.²⁰ This scattering was natural in view of the piecemeal nature of the arrival, the wide geographical spread of the sponsors' own residences, and the housing shortage. Among all the families settled, there is but one instance in which a loose clustering occurred: three families happened to settle within seven or eight blocks of each other. Essentially, the Latvians formed no nationality neighborhood.

One group which might conceivably have brought about a fusion between the newcomers and the older Latvian residents did not do so. This was a moribund organization known as the Latvian Society. As the only Latvian organization in the city, it was the sole focal influence through which Latvians of the older migration were brought together. The society, organized many years previously by the older group, had gradually shrunk in membership and met only infrequently. In 1949 the society claimed 19 members; in February, 1953, only 12. Although the newcomers were invited to join this group, they did not do so, for reasons which were apparently concerned principally with political background, as conditioned by date of departure from Latvia.²¹

To call any one family typical of the Latvian group would be deceiving. So varied were the backgrounds and the problems of settlement in Detroit that each family's story differed considerably from the others. However, the tracing of events which occurred in the case of one of the families will provide some orientation as to problems encountered.

The family chosen is that of a medical doctor; the only one, incidentally, found in the eighteen Latvian families selected at random

²⁰This resulted from the fact that earlier programs had made resettlement possible for single individuals in England, Canada, and Australia. These resettlements had partially exhausted the supply of single displaced persons in the camps.

²¹The few Latvians who already resided in Detroit in 1949 had for the most part come to America before the end of World War I, many of them as the result of Czarist Russian purges. The newcomers came with a quite different orientation.

from which data were obtained in this study. The Latvian group contained as heads of families a higher proportion of white-collar workers, including professional people, than two other nationalities which were simultaneously studied through the same sampling procedure. In the Latvian group, thirteen were in the white-collar class, including four professional persons. In the Polish group, out of the eighteen studied five were white-collar workers including two professional persons; and in the Italian group, there were three white-collar workers including two professional persons. It thus seems appropriate to use a professional family for discussion purposes, even though this family cannot strictly be classified as typical. The family was that of Dr. and Mrs. Edgars V. Mendians. After earning his medical degree from the University of Latvia, Dr. Mendians, who was 48 years old at the time of the interview, became a general practitioner in his native country. He also worked simultaneously for the Latvian government as a district physician, from a headquarters in a small city. He and his wife, confronted in Germany with the possibility of migration, chose with enthusiasm to come to the United States. "We felt it was the best country for immigrants because of its democracy and freedom," Dr. Mendians explained.

With their two small sons, the Mendians family arrived in Detroit in December, 1950, aided by the Lutheran Charities. By January 2, 1951, with that institution's help, both Dr. and Mrs. Mendians had secured maintenance and caretaking jobs with a nonprofit community institution. Seeing an improved situation, Dr. Mendians left his position in March, 1951, to work in an industrial plant as a sweeper, but Mrs. Mendians retained her original job, which she still held at the time of the interview. Dr. Mendians, after seventeen months in the plant, was able to secure an internship in a Detroit hospital, as a move toward qualifying for medical practice in Michigan. At the time of the interview he was nearing the end of the required two years' internship and was studying to pass the state medical examinations. The small salary he was receiving at the hospital added to that which his wife earned was making it possible to maintain a modest apartment.

Dr. and Mrs. Mendians, reasonably fluent in English, were both seeking to improve their use of the language through independent

study and reading. They associated occasionally with the families of non-Latvian physicians. Dr. Mendians became an associate member of the Wayne County Medical Society. The children, completely fluent in English, attended a Detroit public school and played with non-Latvian children. The entire household planned to become United States citizens.

There were no other Latvians in the neighborhood, but the Mendians associated with Latvians occasionally through church and other groups which had been formed by Latvian displaced persons. The Mendians family was fortunate in possessing some English ability at the time of their arrival in the United States. Knowledge of English was possessed also by certain of the other Detroit Latvian displaced persons families.

From the standpoint of native-language communication facilities, the Latvians were a disadvantaged group. The severe limitations which they experienced are, as a matter of fact, unusual in the United States. The presentation is made in terms of, not what the first Latvian displaced person found, but rather what communication facilities were commonly found after the initial, somewhat chaotic influx of individuals was over. This distinction is pointed out because some of the communication facilities (for example, displaced persons created organizations) did not exist until the earliest arriving individuals had organized them.

Radio programs in the Latvian language were virtually, although not completely, unavailable in Detroit. Such availability as existed grew largely out of the fact that a Detroit radio station, WJLB, featured radio programs in various foreign tongues and that two of the nationality groups for which programs were regularly provided (the Lithuanians and Ukrainians) made, on various occasions, a few minutes of their time available to the Latvians.²² The general nonavailability of Latvian radio in Detroit is indicated by the fact that less than half of the Latvians interviewed had ever heard a radio program in Latvian in the United States. No features in the Latvian language had appeared on any televised program available in Detroit.

No traditional type Latvian newspapers were published in or near

²²Upon extremely rare occasions sources other than WJLB were available in the form of programs broadcast from other cities.

Detroit. In New York City, however, an eight-page Latvian journal of full newspaper size, known as *Laiks* (Times), was published semiweekly. A newspaper of like size and frequency, *Latvija Amerika* (Latvia in America), was published in Toronto, Canada, where there is a considerable Latvian population.²³ The fact that both the semiweeklies could be procured by the incoming displaced persons, as soon as they knew of their existence and had enough money to pay the subscription price, helped to alleviate the lack of a local native language newspaper.

The displaced persons themselves created another alleviating circumstance. Beginning in 1950 a semimonthly mimeographed information bulletin, actually serving as a rudimentary newspaper and so considered in this study, was published in Detroit under the joint sponsorship of the St. Paul's Lutheran Congregation and the Latvian Association in Detroit.²⁴ It was entitled *Vestis* (Messages) and was mailed to all families in the two sponsoring organizations. The editor was the Rev. Valters Līventalis. The dual role played by Mr. Līventalis, as pastor of the congregation and editor of the only local native language newspaper available to Detroit Latvians, emphasizes the major role of the Lutheran Church in the communications skein. Because of membership of Catholics in the Latvian Association, items of Catholic as well as Lutheran interest were carried. In general, the bulletin sought to fill the basic need of Latvians in Detroit for a newspaper printed in their own language.

Although no traditional-type Latvian magazines were published in or near Detroit, a number of such magazines were published elsewhere. Six of these, all monthlies, circulated in the city. The most popular among them was *Tilts* (Bridge), a general interest periodical published in Minneapolis. *Laikmets* (Era), also published in Minneapolis, and *Latvju Zurnals* (Latvian Journal), published in New York, were likewise general-interest publications. The others were *Majas Draugs* (Friend of Home), a religious journal published in Chicago; *Piensaimnieks* (Dairy Farmer), a trade journal published

²³ Apparently the only other newspapers published in the Latvian language outside Latvia were two in Sweden, *Latvju Zinas* (Latvian News) and *Latvju Vards* (Latvian Word); one in Germany, *Latvija* (Latvia); and one in Australia, *Australijas Latvietis* (The Latvian of Australia). All four of these newspapers were weeklies.

²⁴ Both of these organizations were originated by the displaced persons after their arrival in Detroit.

in New York; and *Cela Zimes* (*Road Signs*), a literary magazine published in London, England.

As was the case with newspapers, the lack of a local publication in magazine format was alleviated in a rudimentary way by the displaced persons themselves through a mimeograph publication best classified as a magazine.²⁵ This was a semimonthly entitled *Latviesu Boznicus Vestis* (*Bulletin of the Latvian Church*), created in 1952 by the members of the Christ Latvian Evangelical Church.²⁶ Its circulation did not extend far beyond the membership of this church.

Motion pictures in Latvian had been unavailable to Detroit Latvians up to the time the interviews took place.²⁷ An effort was then being made to procure some documentary films which had been photographed in a displaced persons camp near Hanover, Germany. These films had been directed by two of that camp's Latvian displaced persons who had been executives in a German motion picture producing company. In the post-liberation era, while the camp was still filled with displaced persons, these two resourceful men organized a tiny company which they called "Baltic Films," and made several pictures as historical documents. Most of the photographing was done inside the camp itself. To secure these films for showing, Detroit Latvians had communicated with the American Latvian Association, Inc., headquarters and with the Latvian legation, both in Washington.²⁸ Free Latvia also produced some films, both fiction and nonfiction, but apparently none was extant outside the Iron Curtain.

²⁵The principal reason for classifying this publication as a magazine is that its emphasis was upon religious articles. The other Detroit Latvian publication, *Vestis*, emphasized not featured articles, but news.

²⁶This is the second of two Latvian Lutheran congregations organized in Detroit by the displaced persons.

²⁷An English-language film, produced under National Lutheran Council auspices to promote the work of the council on behalf of displaced persons, dealt with Latvians in the Valka Displaced persons camp in Nuremberg, Germany. This film had been shown to various Detroit groups to stimulate sponsorship during the resettlement process, and later was shown to the displaced persons themselves at their group meetings in Detroit.

²⁸The means by which free Latvia has perpetuated its government-in-exile is interesting. Virtually every member of the government then in Riga, including the president, was unseated by the Russians on "Deportation Day" in 1941. But the government had prepared in advance for just such an exigency. On May 17, 1941, a month before the invasion, the government made a secret decision by which it delegated, in case of an emergency, certain powers

Virtually no books in Latvian were available to the newcomers from Detroit sources during the period of their influx. The Detroit Public Library had one such book in its collection; the displaced persons themselves brought almost no books with them. Beginning in April, 1952, the library began building a small Latvian selection to serve the Latvian displaced persons. The collection was assembled in the downtown branch, where the library system's major collection of foreign books is located,²⁹ and grew from 107 books in July, 1952, when the library made its first report on the Latvian collection to 188 by July, 1954. The books in the collection were approximately two-thirds fiction and one-third nonfiction at the date of the latest report. This is the proportion the library seeks to maintain in each of its foreign collections.³⁰ The fiction books included, besides works by Latvian writers, translations from classical and semiclassical non-Latvian writers. One staff member in the foreign department of the downtown library was a Latvian displaced person.³¹

of Latvian state authority to Karlis Zarinsh, the Latvian minister to London. At the same time, it designated Dr. Alfreds Bilmanis, the Latvian minister in Washington, to succeed to the same powers in case the Latvian minister in London should lose his freedom of action. Zarinsh did not lose such freedom, but Bilmanis died in 1948. Zarinsh, under his delegated authority, then chose Julijs Feldmanis, who had been minister to Switzerland, as Bilmanis' successor, with the title of charge d'affaires. Mr. Feldmanis died in 1953, and the United States recognizes his successor, Dr. Arnolds Spekke, as Latvia's representative. Dr. Spekke was formerly Latvian minister to Italy.

²⁹Procurement was aided by the establishment, during 1950-1951, of three Latvian publishing houses in the United States. These publish original books in Latvian and also translations. The largest of the houses is Gramatu Draugs of New York, established in 1950. The other two, both established in 1951, are: Latvju Gramata in Waverly, Iowa; and Riga, in Salem, Oregon. The last named is a cooperative venture of a group of Latvian writers now in the United States. Besides ordering from these United States sources, the library also ordered from various foreign publishers of Latvian books—both directly and through dealers in New York. Of these foreign publishers, the largest is Daugava in Stockholm, Sweden. Others are: Parnass also in Stockholm; Ziemeļblazma in Vasteras, Sweden; and Mantnieks in Brussels, Belgium.

³⁰The Detroit Public Library's plan of foreign-book circulation is to maintain a foreign book headquarters at the downtown branch. From this center, books in the various foreign languages are sent out to other branches throughout the city on a temporary loan basis to supply needs of the foreign-language-reading groups. The number and type of books sent is determined by demand; all foreign-language books are returned ultimately to the downtown branch.

³¹He was Arturs Baumanis who was brought to Detroit by the library after he received in August, 1951, the degree of master of library science from the University of Chicago Library School.

Another Latvian library to which displaced persons had access was owned by the Latvian Association and housed in a private home in Highland Park.³² This library was organized in 1950. The Latvians as individuals could also purchase new books in the Latvian language, of course, from the several publishers of such books in the United States and from European publishers located outside Latvia.

Personal-communication availability in the native language is discussed under four headings: one, day-by-day conversation; two, personal correspondence; three, group affiliation; and, four, use of the telephone.

Latvians had little opportunity to use their native language on a face-to-face basis outside their own homes. The widely scattered nature of their settlement throughout the large metropolitan area of Detroit effectively discouraged frequent neighborly calls on their fellow countrymen—at least during a considerable period after the settlement. Travel about an unfamiliar city in public conveyances was difficult. Sunday trips to meet other displaced persons in the Latvian church congregations that were rapidly formed, or to assemble with them for events sponsored by the displaced-persons-organized Latvian Association, were about the limit of transurban travel for personal communication projects involving the Latvian language.

Personal correspondence in Latvian was, under the circumstances, used within Detroit as a substitute for face-to-face conversation with friends, especially until it was possible to procure telephones. Correspondence was also used in maintaining contact with Latvian relatives and friends outside Detroit. This latter group was made up almost exclusively of displaced persons who had migrated to the United States, Canada, Australia, or other country of refuge. For a time correspondence in Latvian was also maintained with persons still in displaced-persons camps in Germany.

Theoretically, the Latvian displaced persons could correspond with families and friends in Latvia; actually, they refrained from doing so. The difficulties were two-fold. There was no assurance

³²This Latvian library was in the home of Mrs. Sofija Ritums at 127 Cortland. Highland Park is a Detroit "island suburb," completely surrounded by the city of Detroit.

that the addressees would still be in Latvia because of extensive deportations which Latvians believed had been carried out; and, a letter received by a Latvian friend or relative might under certain circumstances become as one informant put it, "a free ticket to Siberia."

Because of the relative scarcity of mass-communications products in Latvian and the fact that families were widely scattered throughout the city, communication through groups was doubtless of more vital importance to the Latvians than to most newcomers. Church groups were, of course, basic.

Two Lutheran church groups with national Latvian characteristics emerged, both headed by ministers who themselves had been displaced persons.³³ The larger of these, which adopted the name St. Paul's Lutheran Congregation, was envisioning at the time of the interviews a church home of its own, but had not yet secured one. Under the leadership of their minister, the Rev. Valters Liventals, the group had a fund-raising campaign in progress.³⁴ Since organizing in February, 1950, the group had met regularly twice a month, first at the Salem Lutheran Church on Detroit's east side; then successively at two churches on the west side: the Nazareth Lutheran Church at Vicksburg and Grand River Avenues, and the Emmaus Lutheran Church on Twelfth Street. In connection with the church service, a Latvian school for children had been organized in the form of a semimonthly parochial school. Not only was religious instruction given to the children, but also instruction in Latvian history, geography, and literature. Voluntary teaching was provided by displaced persons who were formerly teachers in Latvia.

The second Latvian Lutheran congregation, actually an offshoot of that organized under Mr. Liventals, was headed by the Rev. Adolfs Birnbaums. The group, since breaking away from the larger congregation in May, 1952, had been meeting each week in St. Mark's Lutheran Church on East Grand Boulevard.

³³The Latvian Lutheran church maintains a headquarters in New York, but there is no church dignitary who might be called the head of the Latvian Lutheran church in the United States. The world head of the church is Archbishop Teodors Grinbergs, who now resides in Esslingen am Neckar, Germany.

³⁴There was also discussion of raising a fund for a national home for non-religious activities.

The Latvian Catholics in Detroit at first had no priest of their own. Until the summer of 1953, visiting Latvian priests from other cities occasionally came to Detroit and provided services in Latvian. For these occasions the churches most often used were St. Anthony's on West Vernor Highway, and the Chapel of St. Therese the Little Flower of Jesus on Parsons Street. In June, 1953, Father Norberts Trepse, a Latvian priest, came to Detroit and was assigned as assistant pastor at St. Catherine's on Seminole Avenue with the understanding that among his duties would be the serving of Catholic Latvians in Detroit. At the time of the interviews, the Latvian Catholic group, numbering about one hundred, met at St. Catherine's Church on the last Sunday of each month. Following a mass in which they joined with other parishioners, they assembled separately for a sermon in Latvian by Father Trepse.⁸⁵ They usually had breakfast in the school building on this occasion, also.

No special arrangements had been made for the Greek Orthodox Latvian displaced persons in Detroit, who were only about ten in number.

Only one lay Latvian group existed in Detroit when the Latvian displaced persons began coming. This was the Latvian Society, which the displaced persons were unwilling to join for various reasons. The displaced persons organized four lay groups of their own, somewhat related to each other: one for adults in general, one for youth, one for army veterans, and one for singers. The general group for adults is known as the Latvian Association in Detroit.⁸⁶ At the time of the interviews it included two hundred members, all 18 years of age or over. This group, organized in 1950, met irregularly at the International Institute and elsewhere, but always on several Latvian anniversary dates. Because of the great preponderance of Lutherans in the association, its membership and memberships in the Lutheran congregations were largely the same, except that

⁸⁵A bishop residing in Grand Rapids visited Detroit occasionally to address the Latvian Catholic group. He was the Most Rev. Joseph Rancans, auxiliary bishop of Riga and former dean of the Roman Catholic Theological Department of the University of Latvia.

⁸⁶The association is affiliated with the American Latvian Association, Inc., which has headquarters in Washington, D.C. The president of the Latvian Association was Sigurds Rudzitis, resettlement worker at the Lutheran Charities, who at one time was secretary to the mayor of Riga. The seven-man board of officers met monthly.

there were also in the association Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox members.

The second group was the Detroit branch of the Latvian Youth Organization with national headquarters in New York City. The Detroit group, organized in 1952, had about fifty members, varying in age from teen-agers to thirty years.

The third group, organized in 1951, was the Detroit branch of an international organization known as Daugavas Hawks, a group of ex-soldiers of the Latvian army. A subgroup of the Daugavas Hawks was a Latvian drama society, which presented its productions in the Detroit International Institute, and also in Cleveland.

The fourth group, organized in 1952, was a choral organization consisting of some fifty members.

Availability of the telephone to Latvians depended upon two factors: the ability and willingness of the Latvians to pay for having instruments installed, and the availability of Michigan Bell Telephone facilities in the particular part of Detroit where they were settled. Thus, there was considerable variation among families in the length of time which elapsed before the telephones were procured. The telephone company had a waiting list which carried over from the war period. As newer residential areas were built up, following the relaxation of restrictions on building materials, the list was considerably expanded, and the company experienced difficulty in supplying the demand.³⁷ As the decade of the fifties began, the situation began to be relieved. Prospective customers in all areas could get service more readily so long as they were willing to take party-line service. The telephone aided greatly in communication between Latvian families.

All in all, using such improvisations as those described, the Latvians achieved a communications net which served them while their learning of English progressed. But many testified to experiencing difficulties. Some Latvians not only lacked, or virtually lacked, mass communications in their own tongue, but could arrange neither telephone installation nor regular transportation to achieve personal conversation in Latvian with nonfamily countrymen. In

³⁷In the newer areas where only a relatively small proportion of the Latvian displaced persons appear to have settled, the waiting period was up to one year; in the old areas it varied from a few days to a few weeks.



LATVIANS IN MICHIGAN

A Sketch by Herman G. Duerr

such families, and over certain periods, all communication was reduced to conversation with family members.

The fact that most Latvians were able to use German was of help to them for they could use that language to some extent as a substitute for English, both with reference to mass media (*Abend Post*³⁸ and the German hour on WJLB) and with reference to personal communication (in stores where there were Yiddish-speaking clerks, for example). There were, however, general feelings of frustration and loss. Several of the Latvians, in describing these feelings, spoke of the importance of music and its language-barrier-transcending qualities at this time of severe communication disruption. Said one Latvian man:

I missed all [the media] We lived far away from other Latvian families and had nothing at all that we could read. We didn't hear the German radio because my wife and I lived with an American family that didn't tune it in, or even tell us about it. So the only thing we could understand was the radio music. I used to sit and listen to it in the evening, and it helped my morale. It was different from the music on European programs, but I still liked to listen.

Said another:

I felt the separation from these things [media] acutely—to the point where I experienced periods of depression. The only radio I heard was American programs through the partition from the living room of an American family. Their music gave me a strange impression, but I wanted to listen anyway. As for reading, I had brought some old Latvian magazines with me from Germany. I re-read these and got some satisfaction just from being able to read something in my own language, even though I already knew what was written there.

To this general feeling-pattern of serious loss there were exceptions. Some of the late-arriving Latvians were fortunate enough to move briefly into the homes of earlier-arrived Latvian displaced persons.³⁹ The latter, having found various communication channels in Latvian and German, could make these immediately available to the newcomers. Even when the advantage of moving

³⁸*Abend Post* is a Detroit German-language newspaper published three times a week.

³⁹The late-arriving Latvians, even those who did not move into Latvian homes, found a generally better situation because of local developments which had occurred. These consisted principally of the organization of the religious groups and the Latvian Association in Detroit, and the initiation of improvised media of communication by these groups.

temporarily into an established Latvian home was lacking, there were sometimes ameliorating circumstances. One respondent, a 54-year-old widow, came to live with and work for an American-born teacher who spoke German and who, unlike many Americans, appeared to have a real understanding of the communications problems of a newcomer. This teacher began subscribing to the *Abend Post* and showed her sponsoree how to tune in the German radio hour. The influx of Latvian settlers which Michigan experienced from 1949 to 1952 was unusual in a number of respects. It was the first real influx of Latvians which the state had ever had. In the Detroit area settlement was stimulated and aided by a church group, unassociated with Latvian culture. Because Detroit's Latvian immigrants of an earlier day were well acculturated at the time of the arrival of the displaced persons and because the oldtimers were few in number, local native-language communication media were almost entirely lacking at the outset. This fact and the further phenomenon of random-scatter in settlement pattern posed communications problems for the residents. To solve these problems, there were various improvisations: radio time was borrowed, a mimeographed newspaper and magazine appeared, a Latvian book section in the Detroit Public Library was established, and various Latvian groups were organized. Latvians now have a secure place in the rich mixture of cultures that characterizes Detroit and Michigan.

Ann Allen of Ann Arbor

With an Introduction by

Florence Woolsey Hazzard

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF "PIONEER WOMEN of Washtenaw County," continuing study and research has provided new materials and information on Ann Allen.¹

Ann was born on January 22, 1797, to Thomas Barry and Ann Isabella Smith Barry at Staunton, Virginia. Thomas, of Huguenot ancestry, had come from Derry, Ireland, to join his McKim cousins in Maryland. Ann Smith's father so frowned on the courtship of his aristocratic daughter by the young immigrant that a secret marriage was resorted to, and they moved from Newmarket, Maryland, to Staunton. Thomas became a well-to-do merchant almost at once. After the birth of their child the father made a will making her his sole heir under guardianship of her uncle, Andrew Barry, and her cousin, John McKim, Jr., of Baltimore.² The mother died a week after her baby was born, and Thomas asked that the child be called Ann Isabella for her mother. Friends cared for her. Three years later her father died and small Ann became an orphan.

She was sent to live with her aunt and grandmother in Ireland, and within a few years she was brought back by them to Uncle Andrew Barry's home at Mossy Creek, near Staunton.

When her uncle married Polly McCue and moved to Ohio, young Ann Barry was left in the East and sent to several schools. Her education was completed in Baltimore where she lived with the McKims. John McKim was president of the Bank of Maryland and subsequently one of the founders of the Baltimore & Ohio Rail-

¹Florence Woolsey Hazzard, "Pioneer Women of Washtenaw County," in *Michigan History*, 32:181-201 (June, 1948). The writer is indebted to Miss Ella M. Hymans, curator of rare books at the University of Michigan General Library, and to Dr. F. Clever Bald, assistant director of the Michigan Historical Collections. She also gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Miss Margaret Bell of Staunton, Virginia, in locating the McCue family.

²Information on this point and a number of other questions on the life of Ann Allen is found in the material on the founding of Ann Arbor collected by Mrs. James H. Campbell of Grand Rapids and presented to the University of Michigan General Library upon her death in 1926.

road. The luxury of the McKim mansion became Ann's symbol for security. As a result of her early schooling she acquired some knowledge of history and became learned in the Bible. At the school in Baltimore, which was run by a French woman, Ann was taught French, letter-writing, conversational ability, and the manners which were considered appropriate for a young lady of her rank in society.

In Baltimore Ann came into contact with William McCue, the younger brother of the Polly McCue who had married Andrew Barry. McCue was a graduate of Washington College and the Philadelphia Medical School, and was studying with Dr. William Boys, superintendent of the asylum in Baltimore. Ann Barry and William McCue were married in 1813, when she was sixteen and he was ten years her senior.

The years with William were Ann's golden years, made easy by her money and his devotion. They had a home in Lexington, Virginia, where McCue practiced medicine. Two sons were born: John and Thomas. The family's happiness was shattered in 1818, however, when McCue died suddenly of typhoid fever. His brothers, James and John McCue, were made guardians of the boys. James took Ann and the children to his home for shelter.

After a time Ann was courted by John Allen, a cousin of the McCues. Allen was about the same age as Ann, and had two children, James Campbell and Elizabeth, by a previous marriage. He was energetic and ambitious but was regarded with disfavor by his cousins who declared that he had neither education nor money. They pointed out that he did not even have a home to offer Ann. Nevertheless, on June 5, 1821, John Allen and Ann Barry McCue were married. In 1823 a daughter, Sarah Ann, was born to the Allens.

Late in 1823 John Allen went to Michigan to help found the town which became known as Ann Arbor. After seven long months of silence he wrote for his parents, James and Elizabeth Allen, his three children, and his wife to come to what was, to them, an unknown country. An unmarried brother, James Turner Allen, also went out to Michigan. The McCue family, not including Ann Allen, had an all-night session of prayer in which it was revealed to them that Ann could go to Michigan and take Sarah Ann, but not her

two sons by her first marriage. This decree was legal, since the McCues were the boys' guardians, and it also had the sanction of authority from on high. Ann never questioned the decision, but did extract a promise that when the McCues were satisfied that she and John Allen had established a fit home in Michigan, she could have her sons.

Thus Ann Allen took her place in the new community of Ann Arbor, ill-prepared by her background and rearing for privations, and torn within by longing for her boys. John Allen's energies at last had an outlet. The early years in Michigan were eventful and prosperous ones for the Allens. But in 1837 occurred a nationwide financial panic, and the Allens knew poverty. John Allen became restless and sought to retrieve his fortune by moving elsewhere. For awhile the Allens lived in New York City, and then returned to Ann Arbor. Subsequently John Allen went West and in 1850, during the California Gold Rush, he died.

Either before John Allen went to California or at the time of his death, Ann Allen was sent carfare by her son Thomas, and she returned to Virginia. Her mother-in-law, Elizabeth Allen, remained in Ann Arbor, where she helped care for her grandchildren: the children of her son, James Turner Allen, and those of John Allen's two children by his first marriage. She died in Ann Arbor in 1861.

Back in Virginia Ann Allen spent much time with her son, Thomas, who was married and lived in Staunton, where he was a merchant. A letter from one of Thomas's daughters gives a picture of Ann Allen in her comparatively serene old age.

As I first remember my Grandmother, Ann I. Allen, . . . was when she came to visit her son, Thomas McCue, my Father. These visits were Spring and Fall . . . She was rather small & frail looking. A very int[er]esting talker & good reader. I remember the double window in my Mother's room where she sat & sewed. Grandmother would read aloud. There were three steps by the window that went up stairs. I would slip in when I heard her reading & sit on these steps. She was quite deaf. I heard her speak of her trip to Michigan that she took on horse back in 1824 carrying her little daughter in her lap the entire way. How frightened she was, for they had camped near an Indian camp & she expected to be scalped as night came on. That frequently an old Indian would come to their house & sit down in the chimney corner for hours, & smoke his pipe, & only now & then make a grunt. They would come for salt. You had to be particular to always fill the

vessel level full, for they would not have it any other way Her Scotch accent was attractive to me. She always said "me own" & spoke of her dress as "me frock."³

*With her children and grandchildren Ann Allen was happy. She spent much time with her Bible until in her extreme old age she lost her sight as well as her hearing. On Sunday evenings she often called in friends and held what amounted to meetings in her room, preaching the sermon herself. Her initial pride in the city in whose early development she had played a part grew with the years, but she never returned to it. She died peacefully on November 27, 1875, but not until May, 1877, was her obituary published in Ann Arbor, and then erroneously as to the date of her death. Among the tributes was a statement that she was "endowed by nature with a strong mind, improved by reading and reflections; her conversation was edifying and instructive Mrs. Allen was remarkable for her unassuming modesty and diffidence."*⁴ She directed that a plain stone be placed on her grave in Augusta Stone Church-yard, and another be placed for John Allen when his body should be moved. His grave has not been found. Ann Allen's two sons preceded her in death but Sarah Ann survived her mother.

The following letters which Ann Allen wrote to her son Thomas between the year 1835 and 1842 were preserved by the McCue family and now are in the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan. During the years each of her sons rode out to visit their mother in Ann Arbor. The first letter follows the visit of John. It was written in the years of prosperity. There is marked contrast in the tone of her later ones, when money became scarce.

³Letter to Phebe W. Bell, undated, in possession of Misses Mabel and Bessie McCue. Copied by the writer with permission to quote.

⁴Ann Arbor Register, May 9, 1877.

LETTERS TO THOMAS W. McCUE,
AUGUSTA COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Ann Allen

Ann Arbour, June 28, 1835

My Dear Son

Your Brother has left us for Ohio, I need not describe to you my disappointment in not seeing you, with him. I am afraid if you had any love for your mother it is long gone from you — as you do not even answer the letters that is written to you. I know it would cost you some time to write, But ask yourself the questions is it not my duty to write to my Mother, is there anyone on earth as near to me, or would do more for me in all situations of life who watch'd over my helpless infancy, shall I forget her, reflect on these things let no one wean you from the ties of nature which bind you so close — I know it would cost you money to come, but if you never put your money to a worse use, than to come to see me, your reflections will not be of a very painful nature. I thought it a good opportunity for you to come with your Brother. (As you did not come when your half way) before. John said you'r busily engaged in school I hope you will make a wise use of your time, it certainly will be a great comfort to me, to hear of your improvement and recollect if you have forgot your Ma she has not forgot her son and takes as lively interest in your happiness, & welfare as when you lived with her. You must write and tell me about all your studies where you live now, what is your future plans for usefulness. You must not forget your Brother, he loves you with a strong affection and I am very glad to see it — you must be to each other as David & Jonathan take each other's part when necessary. What you see wrong in each other reproof with affection, and instruct in doing right. place implicit confidence in one other. Cousin John Barry has grown quite a smart intelligent young man — remember me to your Aunt Margaret and your Uncle James I hope they enjoy their Health and take such comfort in their children — This place improve's very fast, it is astonishing the emigration to the West is so great they expect to start the railroad from Detroit to pass through here in the spring, It is thought the Capital will be removed

from Detroit here, as this is the most central place. I cannot write much that will interest you as your unacquainted with it inhabitan-
ance they are enterprising and entelligent. I enjoy a moderate degree
of health — Cap Welch still lingers — I do not think he can possibly
last many days, he has sold out his store, and made his will —
his oldest daughter is married to a Doc of this place she done very
very well. Mary I think will be married to a young Lawyer before
very long he has a good practice they are smart, good girls, and
deserves good Husbands — Sarah Ann is nearly as tall as I am,
she is almost out of patience with you, about writing — she says
she wont write any more letters to you if you do not think worth
while to answer them (she is livly), I think you would like her
society. she is great deal of company to me. Mr. Allen has gone to
Chicago, my family is small this summer — Elizabeth Allen & James
have grown almost up. Eliza- takes after her grandma in stoutness
James appears steady and attentive to business, they live with their
grandma. Mrs. Welch is well — I should be glad to hear from any of
the friends in Virginia and let me know the New's, I have not
forgot any of the old residents — John Barry thought it was not
such a wonderful journey as they all thought it was in Ohio, we
can come from Hillsborough on horse back in a week, he visit the
Niagara falls, Buffelo, Detroit, and was much pleased with his
trip — we have not had very much warm weather here yet, a good
deal of rain Crops look well, and fruit bids fair. I hear of very little
sickness in the territory this season but what is usual every where.
I must conclude by telling you to be a good boy learn fast and
make a smart man I shall expect to here from you I remain your
affectionate

Mother Ann I. Allen

Ann Arbor Nov 19, 1836

Dear Son

I received your letter by Mr. Bartlett and was glad to hear from
you. Mr. Allen returned they [sic] middle of the week you left.
he has purchased a small carriage for us to go to New York in.
James the Hostler goes in a Lumber Waggon and carries our baggage
I try again to get Rachel to go but her Father wont consent. we
start next Monday to go by land, to New York go from here to

Monrow then intersect they national road some where in Ohio. their was quit a fall of snow here yesterday, a dull prospect for good roads (I dread my journey) but I think it is for the best to go by land it has got so late to cross the Lake O my Dear son how glad I should be to here of your safe arrival at your uncle James, but I must be patient as it can not be. I must live on hope for the present as I cannot devise what will be the result of my removal or of your journey. When ever I arrive at New York and know where my future home is going to be, I will write, then you must not fail to answer immediatly and relief my suspenche. Their has nothing new taken place since you left, Sarah Ann is well, at present Miss Child feels pretty bad about our going Mrs. Ramsdell says she cannot board her any longer Sarah promise very fairly she will write when she gets to her place of destination — have you seen John yet when you write tell me every particular about John and yourself as every thing that interest my dear Children will interest their Mother, you must write all the particulars of your journey how is your health; I have been uneasy about that cold you [torn] when you started they are all well over at grandma Allens. I have not seen Mr. Goodspeed since you left and I care very little if I never do, on your account — if can read this short letter it will be as much as you can do, I write by candle light and in some haste I have nothing more to write about at present May God allMighty bless my Dear children make them all that is good [torn] thing my fond heart could [torn] Sara send's much love to you and John remember me affectionatly to your Uncle James family and all that may think worth while to enquire after your Mother your attached

ever your affectionate Mother to death Ann I. Allen

New York, 3d January 1837

My Dear Brother.

We have arrived here safe. And I am much pleased with the City; what little I have seen of it. We had quite a pleasant trip. I will give you a short Description of it. We came in our own carriage to Columbia in Pennslvania. We had also a lumber waggon to carry our baggage in. James drove the cream colour horses in the baggage wagon. And Pa drove the white horses, in the carriage to

Columbia. then we took the railroad to Philadelphia and took our baggage with us. and James went with the carriage and four horses round on the turn-pike, then we took the steam boat to Borden town. from their we went in a car to Amboy. from their in a steam boat to New York. I like riding in the Car very much; but the steam boat I can say I do not like as well. What little I have rode in them does not make me sick. I presume you were sick when you crossed the Lake. I could have enjoyed myself very much had it been warm weather. We past through a village called Economy settled by the swiss. a man named Ralph bought a colony from Germany with him an he governs them. and will not let any of them associate with the Americans. they have all their houses built of brick and made alike and no doors entering the street but publick building they have a church, and a town clock. And very large farmes and in order belonging to Ralph. and very large Orchards. They have a large garden with all kinds of flowers & plants and any one who will come and take Dinner with them. or buy any plants, they will take them to see the garden. they all dress alike, and all the money they get they give it to Ralph. The streets of the village are very clean. They often have parties come from Pittsburg to see them & their — gardens. We pass through Pittsburg but it was a dolful looking place. They burnt coal entirely. Just before you enter the place it appears as if thair was a huricane. I am sure I should not like to live their. They burn coal in this City but it is altogether different kind. I expect you are about to be married to Mary Jane Kerr? but I would like to hear from you that she was married to McCutchen. I hope you are both well. Pa has bought a house and we are in it cleaning and every thing is in a bustle. I will leave room for Mother to write the particulars. Write often to me & Brother.

I remain your affectionate Sarah Ann Allen.

Dear Son

I perceive Sarah has left some room for me to write; Sarah says we had a pleasant journey, for the time of year, road was better than we could expect but the jouney was quite fatiguing for me, they weather was cold we were 4 weeks coming I took some cold on my journey, it layed me up for a few days after I came when

we arrived here we went to board in private family we was not very comfortably situated the room was small and confined Mr Allen has been trying to get a house and at last obtained one I cannot tell you whether he has bought, or rented it, it is a pleasant convenient house quite up in the city how I shall like it, time can only tell I have formed no acquaintance, but the family I boarded with a few days. I have some letters of introduction from friend in Ann Arbour, to their friend here, I have been so unwell, and so much hurried about moving that I have not made myself known to any one, indeed I have not had a moment time to call my own when well enough if I had it would have been in writing to my Dear son, I have been very anxious to hear from you but being so unsettled not knowing where to tell you to direct your letters to made me defer it to the present we have only been here a few days an are not fixed yet comfortable but I hope after we get the house clean and get some furniture we shall I have since, I came here understood their is and old acquaintance of mine living in New York her name is Mrs Mahand, her husband is a prel [torn] preacher in the Synagogue I became acquainted with her in Michigan she stayed at our house in Michigan before she was married if she will remember me it will be of advantage to me, as she move's in such society as I have allways been accustomed to, she is pious, and intelligent. My son, write ever particular about yourself your health, journey, how you found John if he is well and doing well all the particular about both of you, I hope your relation are all well tell John to write, you had better direct your letters thus Mrs. Ann Isabella Allen (Seventh Avenue) 14 Street, City of New York their so many of our name in this City if not direct thus, I may not get them I am in much haste, we are well and send much love to you and John and all your friend ever your affectionate till death, May God keep you my Dear Children — Your Mother, write as soon as you get this. When I hear from you, I will write all the particular, then I will be settled your in much love

Ann I. Allen.

New York Feb. 24th, 1837

My much loved Son,

I have just received your letter, it has relieved me of much anxiety, I put a letter to you in the post office on 22 of Febry, mentioning how bad I felt, in not hearing from you. and I could not refrain from setting right down on the reception of your's, and immediatly answering it as it might keep you in a state of suspence if you get my other. we are all well, and I am thankful to God that you arrived safe home to your uncle James. You mention of going to the West in the Spring You better mature that well. before you undertake it — (Ohio) I should give the preference too. Michigan is chiefly, settled by New England Yankee's (cunnings as Foxes), and Northern Speculators. so I do not know what chance, you would stand amongst them — as to Illinois & Indiana I know not much about. how is the climate with regard to health. I think I have heard, that Billous complaints prevailed. and you I think are of a Billous temperment O my dear son, how glad I was to get you letter, it took such a load of my heart. Sarah Ann says, I need not called it my letter, it was her's it makes no difference which it is done us so much good, to hear from you, and your Brother. you say, something about me visit Virginia next summer, I should like it very much. but Sarah A has lost so much time at her age when she should improve every moment her papa has employed a Teacher in the house. her Teacher says, she applys herself very well. I hope she will continue and presevere and not weary unto her Education is completed. on that account, I should not like to take her from her studys. and those oppertunities may not last allways, and if she acquire's an education it cannot take wings and fly away, like all other earthly things. and I wish her to go with me if God spare's our life's. so I think, it must be the summer after this coming. you mention of your Cousin Marshall going to take a trip if he come's this way, he must be sure to come, and see me, or any of your relations, I should think very hard of them, if they passt me by. I have not formed any acquaintance worth mentioning so you, must give me time to form my opinion of the people, and place I am in. we are quite far up, in the City. I like the situation much better than lower down. the air is purer, the water better, not so much noise, and bustle. we live, on the east corner of seventh Avenue.

Mr. Allen says; it is not necessary when you direct your letters, to put 7 Avenue — but direct-thus; Ann Issabella Allen 14 St. No. 39 New York. I was much pleased to see how neat you wrote your letter, and spelt it. it does my heart good, when my children do well. Sarah says she will write you, but I do not no how soon. we bother you, with our letters they are not hardly worth postage. Mr. Allen has just come in, he says I should have written the number first, and the Street after. so you can change it when you direct your letter. tell John you have heard from me my love to all, God Bless you

Your affectionate Mother Ann I. Allen

Ann Arbor, June 9th, 1841

Dear Son:

I have been waiting for the last four months. very patiently to hear from you or John. What can be the cause of your long silence, I cannot make out. I sometimes think you are sick, then I think you might get a friend to write for either of you. In my last I wrote you I mentioned I wanted answer as soon as practicable.

I could have had opportunities of getting that trunk, several times from New York, had it been forwarded their—and due notice given previous to me. (It makes no matter now, if you give me the value of the things in the trunk is all I want. I should not have left Vir- without it had it not been for you. I am poor and needy. I cannot get the cheapest calico dress without someone gives me the means to purchase it (if Mr. Allen makes any thing) which I doubt is little, he never has a cent to spend in clothing me. He makes out to feed us, that seems hard work. It is especially hard times in Mich with every one—Mich—money has fell, one dollar on the Bank of Mich. Detroit, passes only for half dollar eastern money can scarcely be obtained) and people have lost all confidence in each other as it is regards buying and selling. very little business done on credit, so business is at a stand in this place.

I had a letter from Uncle McKim a few weeks ago stating that the Franklin Bank which I had that little money in, which you have heard me speak of has fell from 17 per cent to five per cent, which leaves me 28 dollars in Uncle McKim's debt for the money he advanced to pay my traveling expences to New York. he writes

he is very sorry on my account as it was all the little I had, and also on his own account as he has lost considerable in the same bank, so when I look forward all is darkness. when I look back, all I had is gone to the four winds — Sarah does not go to school this summer. She stays at home and helps me to work. She occasionally sew's a little for a friend and then they give her something which helps her along. So this is the way we get along in this troublesome world, and I see nothing to cause me to think times will aliter for the better for me. Sarah of course is young and may hope, but all my hopes are realised in disappointment — I had a letter from Cousin John Barry a few days ago. he says Uncle Andrew Barry has the inflamitory reuhmatism in his hands, limbs and feet, suffer's a good deal of pain with very little mittigation. how does poor John come on, do write me fully about him. I have many anxious thoughts about him — I often think of you all. I hope God will bless you both yet and make you his humble obedient servants doing his will — remember me affectionately to all the relatives, don't forget to write — tell John I should love to hear from him. Sarah sends her love to both. She says she is not in your debt about writing.

Your affectionate Mother Ann I Allen

Ann Arbor August 15th 1842

Dear Thomas

It is sometime since I heard from you I hope your wife and you are well I suppose you are thinking of going to housekeeping Married life bring's Its cares and responsibilitys but when properly enter into with due considerations with the fear of God before our eye's, with a steady determine purpose to do his will regulated by good sense, and correct judgement, prudence, Mutual confidence in each other — it is well calculated to be a solace in the cares and vicissitude's of life. I hope you will be mutual helpmates to each other, Studying each other's happiness, as your own. poor John how often does my heart bleed for him O that it was the Lords will to change his heart make him a new creature in the Lord — Thomas bear with him be kind and ever affectionate (do your duty towards him, as you would, wish to be done by God who judge's all hearts he will reward you accordingly — poor unfortune youth

how I mourn over his frailties; his lack of judgement his indiscretion, it harden not my heart against him, it humble's me to the dust — when I look back to the day of his birth and recollect how, rejoiced your Father and I was he had a Son; he kiss him. held him in his arm's, with delight — O how mysterious are the ways of providence deep in unfathomable mines, of never failing skill, he treasures up his bright designs and works his sovereign will. we must not judge him by feeble sense but trust him for his grace — I had a letter from him a few weeks ago. his mind appear's to be in unsettled state I think he better live at his Uncle James, if he will take charge of him and get out of this nest of bad company; which I am fearful he has fallen into. and give Margret up; and never think, of her more — while he is in Rockbridge his mind is ever keep in a continual Irritation with his regard for her, his wounded pride, his native sensitiveness, a wounded conscience with all, lashies him on to acts of desperation, his self respect gone, then he, his affectionate, (with all). O that the Lord would shield him with his mercys', and cover him with his guardian wings. he said something about coming West; this is no place for him; or you. depend upon it. if (I thought it, were for either; of your interest to come) I should hail you with a hearty welcome no, Thomas no, you have no friends here; but Sarah and I, and the western counties are generally made up of scape goats who have made this a place of refuge from creditors or unlawful deeds unprincipled. live by art, or cunning. and him who can outwitt his neighbor's is the greater man — I now speak generally of the inhabitance. Mr. Allen I think will leave for St Louis in Nov. he wants to get an other new home how pleased I should be, if he was of a contented disposition I know he could make a living here if that was all, the object. they times are excessive hard with us; we live by the strictest economy — we keep no servant do our own work make our wants but few since I commence writing I have received a letter from Cousin Thomas Barry he writes Uncle is very unwell with the inflamoratory rheumatism a few weeks ago they thought he would not survive long — part of the time he is confined to his bed. and altogether to the house Thomas wrote at the request of his pa — Turner Allen is gone to Vir. I understand on what bussiness I do not no, as they never mentioned his intention of going

to me I suppose, part of his bussiness is to get Elizabeth legacy which was left her, of her grandma Crawford (in the care of McClung) as with regard to us I cannot tell whether we shall board (or what) as Mr. Allen does not communicate what his intention are Sarah says you cannot read this, and I doubt it—very much my pen is wretched and I have no knife to mend it so what you cannot read you will have to [torn] and I have not time to write it over. as it is [torn] time, and I must go and prepare it. Sarah & I will be allways glad to here from you both I do not know when Sarah will make up her mind to marry, she does not seem to be in any hurry she has had good many offers I hope if she ever marrys she may find one every way worthy of her we are living in a very pleasant cottage at present our time is up in Nov. our health this summer has been generally good remember us affectionately to your wife and all that may think worth while to enquire after us I remain ever your affectionate Mother. give my love to John when you see him, tell him I got his letter.

[Ann I. Allen]

The Founding and Naming of Ann Arbor

Lillian Dykstra

THIRTY-NINE MILES WEST OF DETROIT, located on the old Potawatomi Indian trail on the banks of the Huron River, is a community of approximately forty-five thousand inhabitants which has the unique distinction of being the only city in the United States to bear the name of Ann Arbor.

Local "sidewalk" historians will explain to you how this small Michigan city was named by the two founders in honor of their wives—both named Ann—and the wild-grape arbor under which they took their rest and did their family washings in a huge iron cauldron brought from New York state. This story is only half-true. The city was named for the wives of both settlers, but only one of the women had done her washings under the arbor at the time of the naming, and the other woman had not yet even arrived there.

The threads of history are frustratingly short, fragile, and fuzzy. Nothing seems important enough for recording while it is happening. Soon the life and the memory has slipped away with those who lived it, and those who come after and wish to record the scene are left with only thin, smooth ashes to sift through for fragments of information with which to reconstruct the past. Too frequently, there is no way of knowing whether the man was short and fat or tall and thin, with piercing black eyes, or whether his wife was small and delicately slender with curling hair and a merry laugh that eased frontier life for everyone she knew. As a result, the information from which the following has been reconstructed is too meager for comfort but the writer has selected those things believed to be accurate from the few sources available and has pieced them together into the following narrative, eliminating all embellishment and supposition except what is absolutely necessary to hold the narrative together. Any suppositions that have been added were chosen carefully because they seemed to be the most logical and plausible choices of those so meagerly presented and consequently, the author offers no apology for the deductions so made since she believes the following is as nearly an accurate account of the founding and nam-

ing of Ann Arbor, Michigan, as can logically be compounded from the information that is available.

In the fall of 1818, the Federal government offered the land of the Michigan Territory for sale to the public at \$1.25 per acre but until 1822-23 few availed themselves of the opportunity to purchase. The trickle of settlers that then began to go "land-looking" were predominantly from the two northeastern states of Connecticut and New York and they followed the shoreline around Lake Erie from Buffalo to Cleveland to Sandusky to Detroit, from which point they followed the old Indian trails into the interior of the Territory.

Many young, money-poor, and land-hungry families had begun moving out of North Carolina and Virginia in the 1790's but they gravitated toward the localities with a milder winter climate, such as they were accustomed to, and so established their modest farms in Kentucky, southern Illinois, and Missouri.

John Allen of Augusta County, Virginia, was not interested in being a farmer. He was one and he had had enough of this business of tilling the soil from dawn to dusk in order to feed and clothe his growing family. He was not afraid of work but this tall, handsome young man with the magnetic voice and persuasive manner wanted the prestige, power, and clean linen that went with the men who followed a profession or were tradesmen in a community. So, he quietly saved his money because he had decided to go to the Michigan Territory and buy enough land to establish a town of his own for he knew that he could make a fortune by reselling the city lots, at a reasonable profit, to those who followed him. As the founder of the town, he would be expected to operate the leading inn and tavern for the convenience of those coming to the settlement and such was a certain and steady source of income. And so, like other young men of twenty-seven, before and after him, he dreamed of becoming famous and wealthy in some new and bustling town.

John Allen left Virginia shortly after Christmas 1823, on horseback, with a minimum of equipment in the way of extra clothing and food and with about \$1,000 in money.

He left behind him his second wife, Ann Isabella and their young daughter, Sarah Ann; his two children by his first wife, namely, James Crawford who was 8 and Elizabeth M.C., who was 5;

his father, James Allen, a white-haired man of 53 who had the reputation of being one of the best fiddlers in the county; his mother, Elizabeth, 49; a 20-year old, unmarried brother named James Turner Allen, who intended to follow with the family and household goods as soon as John was settled. There were other married brothers and sisters but they did not intend to follow to the new town—at least not immediately.

During his stay of a few days in Buffalo, then a community of twenty houses, he told certain persons about his plans to establish a town in the Michigan Territory and promised to write each of them after his site had been selected so they might join him in his project. The people whom he took into his confidence were trades people who would be of value in building a town. One was Lorrin Mills, a thin-faced young tailor of 20 who had repaired a tear in Allen's coat. Mills had seven brothers, all of whom played a musical instrument and two of whom were brickmakers. Another was the widow, Elizabeth Thompson, who had three grown sons, John, Hiram, and William who was a stage driver.

In Cleveland, while exchanging information with other travelers at the inn where he was staying, he became acquainted with a man and his wife who had just arrived from Genesee County, New York, on their way to the Territory to live. They had never been to the Territory before and knew no more about it than Allen, but Elisha Walker Rumsey and his wife, Mary Ann, had sold their farm in New York, piled all their household and farm goods into a sleigh, which was a wagon-bed on runners, hitched it to a team of slow-moving oxen, and headed for Detroit.

Rumsey was a plain-looking man about ten years older than Allen but there was a stability and sense of organization about him that Allen liked and Mary Ann—well, Mary Ann laughed and bubbled with excitement and gaiety and thought it only natural that she should be accompanying her husband on this trip in the middle of the winter to an unknown wilderness home instead of waiting in New York until he had located and established a home for her in the Territory.

John Allen liked this couple, told them of his plans, and invited them to join him in his search for the site of his town. So, sometime around the end of the month of January, 1824, the three of them

traveled together from Cleveland to Sandusky to Monroe to Detroit along the government highway that had been cut across the swamp a short two years before.

Land-lookers were not impressed by the town of Detroit which consisted of about 1,500 inhabitants and they never tarried there long. It was a dirty town filled with Indians and Frenchmen and transient settlers trickling in and out on their land-looking expeditions. It was a busy town but it was not prosperous. The people were poorly dressed and there were no carriages but only a kind of little cart in which the well-to-do people rode. Thus, the stay of John Allen and Elisha Walker Rumsey was only about long enough to go to the office of the United States Land Commissioner to inquire of the registrar of titles as to the possibilities of land suitable for establishing a town.

Geremiah Ten Eyck's information was based upon the reports coming back to him from those land-lookers who had decided to buy and returned to the Land Office to make their purchases and have him record their titles before returning east for their families and household goods. Ten Eyck told them that they had about the whole of Michigan from which to choose their land but, if they wished to be near other settlers, there was a jumping-off place called Woodruff's Grove that had been established the previous summer and fall by a group of people from Ohio and New York. Some eighteen adults and six children were living in a half dozen cabins on the Huron River near Gabriel Godfroy's old abandoned French Trading Post. Late in the fall, the men of the Grove had hacked out a road through the brush, by way of Dearborn, to Detroit. The settlement was a two-day trip from Detroit by this overland route when the ground was dry or frozen.

Receiving this information, Allen and Rumsey strapped a jug of whiskey on the pommel of their saddles to serve as drinking water, bought some fat salt pork, cheese, crackers, raisins, coffee, and gunpowder and started out toward the Grove with their blanket rolls behind them and their muskets across the saddle.

They had talked it over with Mary Ann and the three had decided that in order to save time the men would proceed by horseback to look at the location on the Huron while Mary Ann remained at the home of Colonel John Williams, a friendly storekeeper who had sold

them supplies, given them advice, and rented a horse to Rumsey for the occasion. It was too much of a chore to move their household goods to a location that might not be to their liking so Mary Ann remained in Detroit with the oxen and household goods while the men were seeking a site for their town.

The first night out they stopped at Ten Eyck's Tavern in Dearborn. The next day they arrived at the Grove and looked up Ben Woodruff who spent the early part of the evening giving them information on the land farther west—three miles farther west—since no one had had time to explore farther than that and the man who had gone that far was Daniel Cross who offered to ride along with the two men the next day which was Friday, February 6.

As the evening progressed and word got around that land-lookers were at the Woodruff cabin, the other men began to drop in to get the latest news from Detroit and Cleveland. John Bryan, a carpenter, wanted to know how they had found the road from Detroit. He had been the first person to use it after it had been hacked out the previous October when he and his wife, who had been five months pregnant, had driven out from Detroit behind a pair of plodding oxen hitched to a wagon load of household goods and farm tools.

The next morning as soon as it was light, Allen, Rumsey, and Cross left Woodruff's Grove and began to follow the meanderings of the Huron River which is as crooked as a barrel of snakes. They followed the old Potawatomi trail which lay slightly above the river on higher ground where it was easy to observe the lay of the land, the fall of the water, and possible river fordings.

It had been a mild winter so traveling was not difficult, but toward the end of the day it began to get cold and the damp from the river began to spread out. The men were tired and decided to stop at the next convenient campsite. So, when they came to a small stream that lay across their path, they followed it away from the river up onto a bluff where they stood some seventy-five feet above the valley and there they found a spring at the edge of a natural burr-oak clearing. Nearby was a huge plum tree covered with a rampant growth of wild grape vines so thick and matted that they promised a fair shelter for the night.

While one man carried the saddles and bedrolls into the shelter and hobbled the horses, another started the fire, and the third pulled

out an iron skillet, set it on the glowing coals, dropped in some pieces of salt pork which immediately began to sizzle and sputter and curl in their fat. Water from the creek in a pail plus a few spoonful of the precious coffee and a handful of raisins was their supper.

Since it was February and darkness fell early, they were not able to see much of the surrounding territory but they sat comfortably before the fire, relaxing and discussing the land they had seen during the day. Furthermore, a light fog was rising from the river to cut off their view of it. After being in the saddle all day, it was good to feel the warmth of the fire creeping into their very bones and draining the tiredness away and Allen relaxed in the warmth of the fire while he carefully sharpened the ends of three hickory sticks with which he and his friends could spear the crisp slices of meat from the bubbling fat in the pan.

Being farm men, they awoke the next morning as soon as it was light and while one of them began to prepare breakfast, another watered the horses. Allen stopped his chores long enough to look across the river toward the north to where the rising mists revealed the tree-studded hills above the valley. He thought of the hills of Virginia and decided these might be a fair substitute for them. Below the bluff on which he stood, he saw a broad waterway with sufficient fall to accommodate the mills that would be needed to build this town. It would furnish cheap and convenient transportation out to Lake Erie. There would be fish to eat and salt down for winter use. Practically at his feet was the clear water of a spring at the edge of a great oak clearing so the women would not have far to go for water for cooking and washing. Furthermore, there was plenty of wood for building and fuel, and the burr-oak opening was large so that it would not be necessary to work very hard to establish a town since part of the job of clearing the ground had already been done by nature.

While eating their breakfast the three men discussed the merits of the location and decided to look around. During the next three days, they rode and tramped the hills for miles east of the river and each night they returned to their shelter under the wild plum tree, sat in the warmth of their fire eating their fried salt pork and drinking their coffee, and discussed what they had seen during the day.

The soil was good; the land rolled some but was not actually hilly;

and they found plenty of nut and wild fruit trees and berry bushes. At the end of the third day, Allen knew this was to be the location of his town and, like the explorers of old, he evidenced his approval of the place by giving his name to the little creek upon whose banks they had camped. He called it Allen's Creek.

The United States Land Office in Detroit issued legal title to the land to them on Thursday, February 12, 1824. Rumsey purchased 160 acres; Allen 480 acres. Ten Eyck advised the two men that since they intended to establish a town, there were certain things they must do. First, they would have to have a survey made of the land; then, it would have to be platted and given a name; and finally, the plat would have to be recorded with the land office. He agreed that as soon as the surveyor, Philo Judd, returned to town he would send him out to make the survey for them but if they wished it to be the county seat, as Allen had said, they would have to set aside, and donate, a square for a courthouse and another for the jail.

The ground was still frozen solid so that their heavily laden sleigh would move smoothly and easily along the road that Woodruff and his men had cut to the Grove, but Allen and Rumsey knew that in a few short weeks the spring thaw would commence and the road would be turned into a quagmire of mud that would be practically impassable until the mud had dried out. They saw that getting to Detroit, by any method, was going to be a chore at anytime so they planned to carry all the supplies they would be needing to carry them through the thaw and until the first of May.

Rumsey had brought some farm implements and carpenter tools with him but Allen had traveled light and had to purchase an axe, a good hatchet, a hoe, a spade, a trowel, and a pick axe along with necessary provisions of a few pints of flour, some fat salt pork, corn, cheese, crackers, potatoes already sending out bumpy purple sprouts, a bag of meal, some raisins, and a tent. They bought some nails for the construction of the house and a few panes of glass. Then they bought a supply of gunpowder which was as necessary as a keg of whiskey and a bag of salt.

They piled the additional supplies into the sleigh along with Mary Ann's iron cauldron, nail-studded trunk, and rolls of rag carpeting, blankets and quilts. The Williams family called cheerful farewells and the Colonel shouted fatherly advice as the broad runners broke

away from the frozen ground with a mighty crunch and the sleigh began to move slowly on its way with Mary Ann sitting in the midst of worldly possessions waving her red-mittened hand in goodby. Her husband walked alongside with a goad in his hand to prod the oxen and keep them moving on their steady forward march while John Allen rode ahead leading the horse that Rumsey had bought from the Colonel.

Their arrival had been eagerly awaited by the people of Woodruff's Grove and as soon as they came into view, the five younger Woodruff children raced each other, laughing and shouting, to see which one could "get there first" but Shep beat them all and ran frantically around the sleigh, jumping and barking with excitement.

Mary Ann Rumsey was still laughing at the antics of the dog and the children when they drew up and stopped before the Woodruff cabin and Mrs. Woodruff and her teen-age daughter, Delia, came forward to welcome them to the neighborhood.

After the evening meal was over, the other men of the Grove began to arrive. While the women "redded up", they sat around the huge stick-and-stone fireplace discussing Allen's selection of a town site and much advice was sought and given. In the course of the discussions that night, Rumsey bought a cow from Woodruff for \$10.

That night, Mary Ann Rumsey was introduced to the loneliest sound in the world. She was awakened by the howl of a wolf in the small hours of the morning.

When they arrived at Allen's Creek they drove the sleigh close to the old plum tree. Then the men set about making the temporary shelter more comfortable for Mary Ann by unrolling some old blankets she had been using to cover the oxen and taking some lengths of carpeting and draping them over the matted vines to cut off drafts. When they had finished, Mary Ann spread a piece of carpet on the ground within the shelter. It was one of the pieces she had been using along the route to cover the household goods and protect them from the elements; it had been woven tightly for long service and hard wear. The colors had softened with the wear and washings of the years but flashes of indigo, turkey red, and saffron still gleamed through, here and there, to add a cheerful note of brightness.

Having settled his friends, John Allen immediately began to provide for his own needs by pitching his tent a few rods away on the opposite side of the campfire, near the horses and oxen. Mrs. Rumsey insisted that he take another strip of the carpet to cover the ground and make it dry, if not more comfortable, for sleeping. Besides, she contended it made the tent look more homelike although both Allen and her husband laughed when she said so.

The next morning, the men unloaded the sleigh and upended the body to serve as a more substantial protection against the elements in case of rain or snow. By using heavy saplings to support the body on a slight angle, they achieved a solid wall from which they draped blankets and carpeting to provide quite a comfortable shelter for the Rumseys and their household goods.

The remainder of the day was spent in the forest at the edge of the clearing. When Mary Ann heard the first sharp blows of the axe biting deep and ringingly into the wood, busy as she was, she went and stood in the burr-oak clearing long enough to watch the men fell the first tree for the cabin and methodically chop off the branches which were of no use as logs but would be usable as roof poles or for firewood. She celebrated a bit by making spider bread for supper and poked three bumpy potatoes into the hot ashes and baked them for that first evening meal.

The men spent some time looking over the land in order to choose the most suitable location for the house. This was not an easy thing to do because most of the clearing was acceptable but they walked, and stood, in various locations contemplating the land and finally selected a rise in the ground near Allen's Creek not far from the campsite. They planned the location of the house so that it would face the east—the direction of their former homes. Automatically, they named the street that would run north and south in front of the house, First Street; the intersecting street which ran beside it, east and west, was named Huron because it paralleled the river so named by the French in honor of the Huron Indians who had once lived along its banks.

During the next twelve days they cut their logs, debushed them and left them lay where they had fallen. When they had prepared enough logs to build a cabin and its accompanying room for the shelter of the animals, the men began to draw the logs to the site

that had been chosen by hitching a log chain around each log and letting the oxen drag it to the location. They needed an extra pair of hands to help with the construction and it was decided that Allen should make a trip to the Grove to see if their friend, Daniel Cross, would come and help them roll up the cabin. Rumsey intended to spend the day in making a door of hewn oak from a log he had already chosen for the purpose because he wanted something more substantial between him and the outside world than a blanket.

Early on Saturday morning, February 28, as soon as he was able to see, John Allen brewed himself a cup of hot sassafras tea, ate a piece of cold fried mush, swung up into the saddle and began following the Potawatomi trail to the Grove. He rode steadily and by the middle of the morning was in front of Ben Woodruff's cabin where Mrs. Snow, the hired woman, was bustling about baking bread in the outdoor stone oven.

Before he had time to ask where the male members of the family were, Mrs. Snow informed him that Mrs. Bryan had given birth to a baby boy the night before and that while Mrs. Woodruff and Martha Noyes were attending to the mother and newborn infant, the men were celebrating the birth of the first white child in the county at Daniel Cross' house where they were trying to choose a name for the child but, at the latest report she had, were not making much progress. John Allen chuckled and began to think of a name suitable for such a distinguished citizen as he turned his horse's head toward the Cross cabin.

The men were laughing and drinking and singing when he opened the door and stepped into the cabin. They called a greeting to him and John Bryan came forward with the little brown jug of whiskey—the ever-present companion on all such occasions of celebration. Allen shook the proud father's hand in congratulation and John Bryan handed the jug to him "for a swig" explaining that the men were trying—unsuccessfully so far—to choose a name that would be outstanding and different for the first white child to be born in Washtenaw County and he asked John Allen for his suggestion since all the others present had already given theirs.

John Allen stood in the middle of the cabin, his long legs wide apart, holding the little brown jug of whiskey in his hands halfway to his mouth. His blue eyes sparkled and all the men watched his

smiling face, waiting for his selection of a name. He was an intelligent, well-read man although he did not have much formal training and his knowledge was wider than that of any other man present with the possible exception of Ben Woodruff who had been a school-teacher in Ohio. The great difference was that John Allen possessed imagination and a sense of humor. He thought briefly about a name for the baby boy and then propounded what, to him, seemed an obvious name for the first white child to be born in Washtenaw County—namely, Alpha Washtenaw Bryan—and that was the name chosen for the child.

On Monday, March 1, Daniel Cross and Calvin Chipman, a slow-speaking, level-eyed man who was landlooking, arrived at John Allen's townsite and began to help roll up the cabin. When the house had been raised to a height of nine feet, they stopped and began to build a smaller room in the same manner, adjoining it, for the housing of the animals. They finished both structures around noon on March 17. With the threat of spring rains upon them there was no time to make a permanent roof of hewn clapboards so they made a temporary roof of long poles placed horizontally from wall to wall and as close as they could put them. Over the poles, they laid the oldest blankets, quilts and pieces of carpeting as they figured it would take a good hard rain to soak the coverings before coming through the poles into the house itself. When the last piece of carpet had been placed on the roof, the men went to the camp and began carrying the provisions and furniture into the new home. There wasn't much beyond the bare essentials which were, of course, a bedstead, a dining table, two feather beds, some good carpeting, blankets and quilts, the necessary cooking equipment, plus a pork barrel, a half barrel of flour and a keg of whiskey.

In the latter part of April, after it had begun to turn warm, Philo Judd came to make the survey of their land and to plat the town. When the surveying was finished, the three men sat down at the table in the Rumsey cabin and Judd began drawing a plat of the town on a long, narrow piece of paper he had brought with him from Detroit for this very purpose. He was a careful, meticulous man and the drawing was slow because each plot of ground had to be drawn accurately and numbered.

Mary Ann had made some hot sassafras tea and the men were drinking the tea and looking at the plat spread out on the table preparatory to lettering in the names of the streets. Judd lettered in the name of the creek first—Allen's Creek. Then, he added the names of the two streets on which the Rumsey house stood, First and Huron. He sipped his tea and looked at the two men inquiringly.

Rumsey was not a man of imagination so his suggestion was that the streets which ran north and south should be numbered consecutively toward the east, beginning with First Street through Fifth. The logical name for the remaining street, running north and south, which was the eastern boundary of their land and would eventually divide their properties from those coming afterward, was Division. Having lettered in the names of the streets, Judd turned to Allen. The first street north of Huron, he named Ann, for his wife; the one next to it, Catherine. Counting south from Huron, he named the first street Washington in honor of the first president of the United States who was a Virginian like himself; next to it came Liberty, followed by William named for his oldest brother, which was followed by Jefferson for another Virginian and the third president of the United States.

Philo Judd finished his work and prepared to return to Detroit. All was completed except the lettering in of the name of the village and this could not be done until Allen decided what it should be. Judd left after warning the men that this must be done before they took the plat to Detroit to be recorded.

Mary Ann Rumsey spent more and more time in the arbor beneath the plum tree for that was where much of her work was done now that the weather was getting warmer. Her husband had added greatly to its usefulness by making a bench for her tub so she could do her washings there after boiling the clothes in the big iron cauldron on the campfire nearby. He had also made a little three-legged stool where she could sit when she did her mending for the menfolk. A stump nearby was handy for a pail of water and a wash basin.

The arbor was a restful place and sometimes when she was tired or a wee bit homesick and lonesome, she sat on the little stool and looked at the hills across the valley or at the tall trees in the forest beyond the burr-oak clearing that were destined for the sturdy homes

of later settlers, and she dreamed of the time when other women would arrive here to keep her company. It was a pretty arbor now that the plum tree was in bloom and the clambering grapevines had begun to unfold their delicate green leaves. She had learned that if she sat very, very quietly the birds sought its shelter and she could hear the bees working busily among the blossoms.

It had been unusually warm on that Monday, May 17, when Mary Ann had completed her washing and hanged it up to dry. She sat down wearily on the three-legged stool to rest for a few moments before going back to the house to get the noonday meal for the men. She wrapped her hands, warm from the hot, soapy water, in her huge calico apron as she leaned her head against the trunk of the plum tree and let the sunshine pour over her. In the distance, she could hear the faint voices of the men as they worked in the clearing near the garden. The same breeze that whipped the clothes nearby, gently lifted the damp hair from her brow. A nesting bird cheeped contentedly and the dull hum of bees was soothing to her ears as she closed her eyes and rested.

She had not heard anyone coming until the soft voice of John Allen said, "How peaceful you look, Mrs. Rumsey." She opened her eyes and smiled as he continued, "I have never noticed how really tranquil and lovely a spot this arbour is before." He looked at her curiously and asked. "What do you call this place in your own mind, Mrs. Rumsey?"

She smiled. "I call it Ann's Arbour, Mr. Allen. Can you think of a better name?"

He looked around thoughtfully before answering. "No," he replied, "the name is most fitting and describes the place very well. I can see that it is a haven of quiet and a refuge of rest when you have finished your labors. Ann's Arbour is a good name for it."

At that moment, Chipman and Rumsey arrived on the scene. Rumsey set down a pail of water. Chipman added the armload of wood he carried to the pile by the campfire and as he straightened up he said, "Say, Mr. Allen, that sounds real pretty, don't it? Maybe even good enough to be a name for your town. Ann's Arbour. You sure wouldn't be hearing it wherever you went and people would remember it, too."

John Allen smiled broadly. "You know, Cal, you may have something there at that. Ann's Arbour." He said it slowly as if turning the words on his tongue to taste the flavor of them and then looked at Rumsey who was grinning at him.

"Of course, John, it really would be fitting since both our wives are named Ann and we could always say that we named the town after the womenfolk," said Rumsey while he winked broadly at Allen, and Mary Ann began to laugh.

Chipman raised his big, sunburned hand and, with mock solemnity, chanted, "Ladies and Gentlemen! It has been suggested that our friend John Allen name his town Ann's Arbour in honor of his lovely wife and our gracious hostess, Mrs. Rumsey. I put it to a vote. All in favor of naming this town Ann's Arbour so he can finish lettering in Judd's plat and give us an address, say 'Aye.'"

"Aye," answered the four persons in unison with great emphasis, laughing merrily.

"Ann Arbour, it shall be then" said John Allen softly as he looked across the valley toward the hills on the other side.

And so it was.

Salmon Keeney's Visit to Michigan in 1827

Edited with an Introduction by Helen Everett

FROM TIME TO TIME MICHIGAN HISTORY PUBLISHES DIARIES and letters of pioneer days in order to present in the words of the writer his own feelings and thoughts and to make such information available to the student of Michigan history and to the general reader. Undoubtedly, Salmon Keeney little thought that one hundred and thirty years after he wrote the description of his trip from Pennsylvania to Michigan his story would be printed for future generations to read.

Salmon Keeney was the fifth generation of his family in the United States. Early in the seventeenth century, Mark and John MacKeeney, brothers, emigrated from Scotland and settled in Connecticut. Soon after arrival the prefix was dropped and the name appears as Keeney. Mark Keeney and his sons, Joshua and Richard, settled in northwestern Pennsylvania on the Susquehanna River in what is now Wyoming County. They made the trip on foot from Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1787 or 1788. In 1789 Joshua returned to Connecticut to marry Phebe Sturdevant. Joshua and Phebe had six sons and five daughters, including a set of twin girls. Salmon, the third child of the family, was born July 23, 1794. He married Mary Gordon on March 8, 1812. They had five children.¹

The year following his trip to Michigan Salmon Keeney brought his family to Monroe County to the eighty acres of land situated in Section 9, Township 8 South, Range 8 East, which he had purchased on July 13, 1827. In 1834 he bought forty acres in Erie Township, Town 8 South, Range 8 East of Section 7.²

Salmon taught an evening school the first year and a day school for two succeeding years and is regarded as the founder of the first English school in Erie. He was made a justice of the peace in 1829 by General Cass and under the county court system was one of the

¹Record of Keeney Family compiled by Andrew Jackson Keeney of Erie, a twelve page typewritten booklet in Monroe County Historical Museum.

²Microfilm copy in the Michigan State Library of the "Record of First Land Purchases in Monroe County from the Federal Government," which lists the purchases made by Salmon Keeney in 1827 and 1834.

associate judges. He was the second postmaster of the Bay Settlement and is credited with changing the name to Erie. For many years he was the postmaster of the township. He died in Erie on March 9, 1847, leaving his widow and two sons and two daughters.³

The dairy was written in ink, in a continuous narrative form, in a three by six notebook, with practically no punctuation. In editing this report I have used a minimum of punctuation, retained the original spelling, and formed sentences only for clarification. Identification of persons mentioned has been made whenever possible. The diary was unknown to the Keeney family for many years. It was found a few years ago by his great granddaughter among some old papers and given to the Monroe County Historical Society. MICHIGAN HISTORY appreciates the cooperation of Mrs. Florence Kirtland, curator of the Monroe County Historical Museum, in making this account available for publication.

PENNSYLVANIA TO MICHIGAN: 1827

Salmon Keeney

Braintrim, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania.

16TH JUNE 1827, I, SALMON KEENEY of the above place, left home for the Michigan. Staid at Wyalusing, 11 Miles.

17th, arrived at Athens, 40 Miles. Continued there till Tuesday the 19 and arrive at Ithaca at 2 oclock Same day where I am dtained by the indisposition of My Son William Till Wensday evening. 20th. Went 2 Miles and took passage on bored The Steamboat Enterprize Capt. Goodwin.

Thursday 21th, Left the Dock at 4 A.M. and proced down the lake. Arive at Cayuga Bridge at 12 Noon—42 Miles. Left there and arrive at Montasuma 7 Miles at 2 P.M. Left at Six Same day on board the Gen. Jackson from Newark, Capt. Halstead, and arrive at Lyons at 2 Oclock A.M. 20 Miles. It is enough to astonish any one not acquainted with Canals to See this great work. With Ese & Expedition goods are transported. The freight Boats Carry from 30 to

³History of Monroe County, Michigan, edited by Talcott E. Wing, 469 (New York, 1890).

40 tons & drawn by 2 horses travil at the rate of 4 miles an hour. There is from 30 to 40 Boats passing Every 24 hours. Lyons is a Beautiful little village situated on the Canal & Containing 5 publick houses, 2 churches, 13 Stores, & one academy, one printing office. To Newark 15 Miles. A Small but nice & Neat little town. Here I left my little son William whoo was so over come at parting that he was unable to speak & I left him in tears, & took passage in the Niagary Packet Boat, Capt Swan, at 11 oclock A.M. for Buffaloo. Arive at Rochester Same evening & took lodgings at the Eagle tavern this Sat evening June 23th. I am mutch disappointed in this place. In going up main Street it assumes all the appearance of a Business Street in New York City. Here the Genesee river is Crossed by the Canal in an aqueduct. The water privaleges are of vast importance to this place and will no doubt in time become famous for its manufacturing Establishments.

Sunday morn, I left this place in a post Coach for Batavia, Situated 40 Miles S. West of this place & proceed up the Genesee River. This river is Not more than from 8 to 10 Rods in width & tho appeared Swolen by recent Rains it was Shallow in many places but the land along its Banks is of the first Quality & some little villages make a flourishing & inviting appearance. The land along this River is as well adapted to the raising [of] wheat as any part of Lancaster County, Pa., but nothing else appears to flourish there except now & then a peace [sic] of Corn and that on the intervale generally. After leaving the river the Country presented a gloomy appearance. The fields were as bare as if Run over by fire owing to the Sever drouth. Almost every vegetable was literally destroyed. Oats headed out not more than 6 inches in heith. The Country for about 2 Miles at Best is a dry sandy unproductive soil. We arrive at Batavia at 4 oclock P.M. where I am obliged to remain till monday at 10 oclock A.M. no stage going west sooner. This is a neat little village Consisting of one Main Street perfectly Strait & of About a Mile in length. Here are many gentle mens seats where Neatness and taste are combined with art & ellegance.

Monday 25 June, leave Batavia at ½ past 10 A.M. arrive in Post Coach at Erie at 3 P.M. This rout is through Welland purchase. The land along the road is in the ocupancy of persons who have no title to their lands. Of course their improvements are not mutch

attended to, poor log Houses, the Taverns have poor accomdations. They are Litterly destitute of every Comfort and wholly of Luxury of life. Here I Spent two days with My sister Smith.

Wensday 27 June I Leave Erie for Buffalow which is situated about 20 Miles west of this place. Erie township is generally good land and will in time become a valuable Township. It is well adapted to the raising of Cattle & a great deal wheat is Raised here & is selling for 50 cts per Bushel & what is extraredinary Merchants refuse to take it for goods at that price. Arive at Buffalow 27th at 7 P.M. Stop at the Eagle Tavern, Mr. Rothburns. This is the most Capacious House I have ever seen ocupied as a tavern & furnished with furniture of every discription the most Costly & ellegant. His table is furnished with every Luxury the market affords here. I fell in company with Mr. Ritnor [?] Speaker of the House of Assembly of Pa. from Washington County.

Friday 28 [29] June⁴, I left Buffalow for Queenstown, pass Black Rock 3 Miles, tonawanda 9 Miles, to Niagra Falls 11 Miles. After some time of viewing the Falls I proceeded on to Lewistown 7 Miles. On this route about 2 Miles below the falls is what is called the Devils Hole⁵ celebrated on account of the americans having been pushed off those Hideous Rocks in the french war at Lewiston. I crossed the Niagary River to Queenstown took a view of the Battle ground at that place; paid a visit to the tooms of our Heroes who Bravely died in defense of their Countries Honor;⁶

⁴Keeney made an error. It should be Friday, June 29.

⁵*Dictionary of American History*, edited by James Truslow Adams, 2:145 (New York, 1942), describes the ambushade of Devils Hole on September 14, 1763, a spot about a mile below the whirlpool on the east side of the Niagara River. John Stedman, the keeper of the portage, and twenty-four men were passing over the portage road in charge of several wagons, when they were ambushed by a band of Senecas. So sudden was the attack that with the exception of Stedman and one or two others, all were killed, many being driven over the cliff. Two companies of Col. Wilmor's regiment stationed at Lewiston heard the firing and hastened to the rescue. The Senecas successfully ambushed the relief. Five officers and sixty privates were killed and eight or nine wounded. The Senecas who perpetrated this outrage, undoubtedly influenced by Pontiac, successfully closed a source of supply for Detroit by killing or seizing the cattle at Niagara and made transportation over the portage impossible for that season.

⁶General Isaac Brock reached Fort George on the Niagara River on August 23, 1812, where he established a strong defense facing the American line under General Stephen Van Rensselaer. On October 13, Van Rensselaer took Queenston Heights but when the New York state militia failed to reinforce the Americans on the ground that their military service did not require them

and lastly took a view of the Celebrated Monument erected by his majesty in Memory of Gen. [Isaac] Brock who fell in that Memorable battle.⁷ It is Situated on the Heights [sic] of Queenstown and is 128 feet in height, 20 feet square. For 20 feet in height from that it is perfectly round. The inside is a Stairs of 172 Steps and an iron railing which leads on to the platform at the top of the Monument which is also surrounded by an iron railing & Banisters. The whole is built of Solid granite of a light gray. From the top of this place you have a handsome view of fort George, fort Niagara, Ontario Lake, and by the use of a glass Kept for the accommodation of visitors you can see little York and many other places of Note. The prospect is the most commanding of any in the western world. At one P.M. left this place in a coach belonging to Mr. Brown of Niagara falls at whose house I am to spend some time. On this rout up the river I pass the governors Country Seat and also take a view of the Battle ground of Lundy's [Lundy's] lane.⁸ Here are the marks of severe engagement. The few buildings that were left Standing are filled with Ball holes even in the gable ends. The trees bare ample testimony of the conflict but in this affair the British had every possible advantage of ground. The British had their cannon planted on an eminence [eminence] So as to rake the Hill from the mouths of their cannons to the bottom of the Hills a distance of ½ Mile. After taking dinner with Mr. Brown I climb the steps to take a view of the falls on the Canada Side. Here is what may be said to be awfully grand. I went under the sheet that fell over the rocks. From the roaring and tumbling together,

to leave the state, the British inflicted a heavy loss on the Americans and forced them to relinquish the heights.

⁷F. Clever Bald, *Michigan in Four Centuries*, 126-29 (New York, 1954). Sir Isaac Brock had served his country in the West Indies, Netherlands, and Denmark before being ordered in 1802 to Canada. In 1806 he was placed in command of Upper and Lower Canada. Later he joined forces with the Indians under Tecumseh and secured the surrender of William Hull at Detroit on August 16, 1812. He was killed in the battle of Queenston Heights, October 13, 1812. *Columbia Encyclopedia*, (Morningside Heights, New York, 1950).

⁸The battle at Lundy's Lane took place on the Canadian side within a mile of the boiling Niagara on July 25, 1814. The British troops had been augmented by the arrival of a fresh body of troops many of whom were Wellington's veterans. The battle raged for five hours and the Americans lost about one third of its force. Henry William Elson, *History of the United States of America*, 3:34-35 (New York, 1905).

a trembling of the sollid Earth, with a view of that Large river falling off a precpice of purpendicular heighth is calculated to fill the mind with Horror and paint with Seeming reality the Dissolution of all nature.

Saturday June 30th I went in company with J Wells esq from Chinango Pte to see a Burning Spring which to me it a great curiosity. It is covered by a small house & boils up like the Boiling of a pot. On puting a lited candle near the Surface of the water it will take fire an flash & blaze like heated spirits. On placing a tube in a tub & seting it in the spring and stoping the tube for a few moments it will take fire at the distance of 3 or 4 feet from the tube and will continue to burn, I presume continually unless extinguished. Near this spring are the ruins of the Brige water mills burnt during the last war which appears to have been large. Here to I viewed the battle ground called the Battle of Bridge water about I mile from the Falls of Niagara.⁹

I am now Saturday 30, 11 oclock, at the house of Mr. Brown. He has a large and ellegant House and is well calculated to accomodate and please the numerous visitors at this fashionable resort. Any person wishing to visit this place will be pleased with His accomodations. Left Niagary falls at ½ past 2 in a coach for Buf-falow. Arive there at 7 oclock. In my way which is on the Canda side I had a view of the Chipewa Battle ground & other places of Note. Put up at the Mantion house

Sunday 1st July Evening I left the Harbour of Buffalow at 10 oclock P.M. in the Steamboat Enterprise, Capt Johnson. Arive at dunkirk Monday morn against a strong head wind where we remain till about 12 at night on account of a violent wind a head.

Tuesday morning I was very sick owing in a great measure to the constant role of the Vessel pass Erie in pennsylvania. Here is Presque Isle which makes a fine Harbour. In this Harbour Lais the Fleet of Lake Erie & the ships that were Captured by Perry. We arive at Cleveland on the 4th at 4 oclock P.M. This is a proud day for this State & I arived in time to take a passage on the first Canal Boat that runs on the Ohio Canal.¹⁰ There was supposed

⁹The battle of Bridgewater is another name for the battle of Lundy's Lane.

¹⁰Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Towpaths*, 250 (New York, 1926). The first canal boat was launched July 1, 1827, at Akron and traveled from that village to

to be about 200 Ladies & gentlemen on this Boat & large & excelant Band of musick with aproprate Flags & Streamers. Their Horses & Riders were ornamented in real Stile & we set off amid the roar of the Company of Heavy Artillery and the fire of the Riflemen an than we procede about 4 Miles & returnd where we were Saluted in the same manner as at our departure. This is a neat little town Situated on a Hill at the Confluence of the Cuyhoga River with lake Erie where the Ohio Canal emties in to the Bay which Runs $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile up from the lake along the side of the town. This Canal is now navigable 36 Miles from this place. This will be in the Course of a few years a place of considerable business but it is now filed with Speculators; to many for their own benefit or the good of the place.

Thursday 5 July leave Erie¹¹ at 10 oclock P.M. While at this place I stopt with John Coleman a very agreeable man, and Polite generous family. We arive at Portland a vilage on the sandusky Bay a small village; Levil Country, and but little higer than the Surface of the Lake & the people Look pale & sickly. This afternoon pass the Three Sisters¹² where the famous Battle of Lake Erie was fout.¹³ Arive at Detroit Citty at one oclock A.M. This City is about 20 Miles from lake Erie on the Bank of Detroit River. I have been 5 days & 6 knights Coming from Buffalow in the steam-boat Enterprize but I find a diference between the Enterprize & Enterprize. The accomodations are Bad. Hands & fireman are all masters but none can comand honor; fiting, quareling, and discord. Others have left Buffalow wensday 3 days after I left and got here at the same time I did. Let every traveler take any other Boat rather than the Enterprize. Here I fell in Company with a gentleman from Ithaca, State of New York, Ebenzer Vickery, Sherriff, who is also to go in to the Country & is to go to the Nighborhood of J. Mulks, whoo I find is gone on home.¹⁴ Here I reced a Letter

Cleveland, a distance of thirty-seven miles. At Cleveland a big Fourth of July celebration took place on the new canal.

¹¹Keeney evidently is in error. He was at Cleveland, where he arrived at about four p.m. on July 4.

¹²Three Sisters: East Sister Island, Middle Sister Island, and West Sister Island.

¹³For the story of Captain Oliver Hazard Perry's victory on Lake Erie see Bald, *Michigan in Four Centuries*, 132-38.

¹⁴John Mulks of Thompkins County, New York, purchased on December

from Sister Betsey Grant from Erie St. of N. York. Now I have a horse to go in to the Country as soon as the Storm which is raging at present is over.

Saturday 10 oclock A.M. 7 June [July].¹⁵ Detroit City is in full view of the Canada Shore, about 2 Miles across the river. The ground is sandy & dry, suitable for the Building of a City; Sufficiently high to have the water drain off each way. Here are the visible marks of the fear that Man has of his fellow man. Here to is the evidence that that fear has in a great measure subsided. The vast Square of Block houses which enclosed about 2 Acres is going to decay & the pickets falling down. Here Hull surrendered his Army. I should think from appearances that this might be a healthy place and a place of Considirable business tho like every other place along the Lake there is to much compitition for the binifit of the mercantile part of Community. Vegetables are here mutch in the same State of forwardness as at Luzerne County & the market well supplied.

Sunday 8 July. I start from Detroit on horseback in company with E Vickery esq. and take the Road to Ann Arbour which leads along the River Rouge, a Small Slugish Stream this. For about 8 Miles from Detroit is a sandy low & marshy in places, after that to the forks of the Rouge 5 Miles is an excelent Country of land well timboured but Rather Levil. The timber bush is White oak, hickory, Bass, & Elm; some white Maple & ash intermixt with other along the bottoms which are little lower. the timber Consists of B. Walnut, Butternut, Elm, & Bass. A black Rich soil, potatoes were seen growing spontaneously & look vigerous, but on the whole the Country is too levil & wholly destitute of stone of every Description. I am now 13 Miles from Detroit where we stop for Breakfast at T. Chadwicks a River Inn. From this place we find the land of an excelent Quality, the timber Large and consists of Bass, Elm, Hickory, Black walnut, and a great variety of other timbers. Here I would [say] that the timber in this Country that is large is verry

7, 1826 two hundred eighty-nine acres of land in Section 33; on December 11, 1826, one hundred sixty acres in Section 32; on December 27, 1827, twenty acres in Section 34, in Monroe County. "Record of First Land Purchases in Monroe County from Federal Government," microfilm copy in Michigan State Library.

¹⁵This should be July, not June.

Large and tall. The under Brush or timber is tall Strait & Beautiful. After proceeding about 6 Miles we came onto the oak opening. On entering these vast plains a traveler is led to believe that it has been Cleard by the hand of man. These openings are a sandy Loom and are covered with grass & flowers of various descriptions & hues. One would not believe that these plains would be so productive but I never in my life saw better Wheat than grows on these plains. I have seen Wheat on the ground to[o] & crops and all good gardin vegetables are good on the ground the first year. There are some excelent Mill Streams on this & good springs & to all appearances this is and will (be) a healthy Country. The timbered Land is generally the lower ground, an the soail a Black Muck of an oily nature. We arive at Ann Arbor at 6 P.M. 40 Miles from Detroit. This is the County seat of Washtenaw County.¹⁶ This is situated on the River Huron a small stream on which are Erected Mills and is sufficiently large for that purpose on a limited scale. The land is oak openings & the town is laid into to[o] small lots for so inland a place & held at the most extravagant prices. There is some good timberd land in the Neighborhood but this is the poorest part of Michigan I have seen. The people proud and distant; poor acomodations at the taverns. We left this place for the Saline and find the land verry [sic] through which we pass. We arive at this place 12 M. At 10 A.M. where we Breakfast, here as in other places, our horses were turned out to graze on the Commons which produces excelent grass. This is on a small stream of that Name & emties into the Raison. Some Miles below here are the Celebrated Salt Springs but they are not worked at this time. We leave this place for Tecumseh which is the County Seat of Lenawee County. This [is] situated Near the Bank of the Raison River. Here is a grist & Saw mill & the water pervaliges exceed any in the Territory I have yet seen. The Land is of the Best Quality & oak planes [sic] generally. Here is Corn six feet in heighth an as even as any I ever Saw.

9 July, we take a general view of the land in this Neighbourhood which we find of the first Quality. The timbered land is Bass, Elm, Black walnut, Butternut, ash, and sugar Maple, with white-

¹⁶See in this issue Lillian Dykstra, "The Founding and Naming of Ann Arbor."

wood & Some Buttonwood, all which though not thick on the ground grow to a great size. The under Brush is thin bush, plum, thorn and prickly ash in abundance. The oak openings are of a better Quality here than in any other place I have seen and after plowing them over they are as completely brot to as any old land but the first plowing is expensive and they charge 3 dollars per acre. The plows are Large & expensive. We examined one, the Irons of which was said to weigh 172 lbs and cost 37 dollars but it does good work. From this we take the Road to Monro and arive there at 3 P.M. On this Route we pass through a timbered Country and the Best land I ever saw in any Country but generally lies low generally. We pass on this Route the great Pararie which is supposed to Contain about 4 thousand acres, is low & wet, but in places produces fine grass. We have passed many others but none so large and we some times have seen the deer Bounding through the grass for Miles. This place, Monro, is the County Seat of Monro County & is situated on the River Rasin 4 Miles from Lake Erie. Here are water privaliges which may be carried on to any extent. On the North side of the River is Frenchtown. Boats come to this place from the Lake. Several Manufacturing establishments are erected & a grist mill with 3 Run of stone, Cording Machines, Saw mills, & here I meet with Maj Mulks and send my horse to Detroit & part with My Friend Mr. Vickory who set off this morning for Detroit. I send for my trunk & am to accomany the Major Mulkes home 8 Miles south of this place.

11 July, I find Maj. Mulks situated in an excelent neighborhood of land. The timber is generally oak, ash, Bass, Elm, & Black walnut. After takeing a view of the Country I proceed in Company with Mr. Mulks to the Bay Settlement which is 4 Miles distant the [land] along this Road is excelent. Here is a Turnpike Road Laid out from Detroit to the Maume Bay & is to [be] finished by the first of may next.¹⁷ The Bay settlement is generally settled by French people who are wilfully & Stupidly ignorant. They are the poorest farmers I ever saw, considering the chance they have. The land presents one vast plain as far as the eye can extend wholly destitute of timber except here & there an Iland of Bushes & few

¹⁷The United States turnpike from Sandusky to Detroit was completed in the fall of 1828.

trees. In walking over this land a stranger would believe that these were old cultivated fields & not land in the state of nature. The soil is similar to the intervail Land on Islands along the Susquahanah River in Pennsylvania. The crops of Wheat are excelent. The French Raise little else except in their gardens, which are excelent. Here are to be seen 500 acres of Wheat in one vast field with not more than one fence if any to a view and they Raise Wheat after wheat for many years. We staid all knight with Mr. Peacott¹⁸ a french gentleman who has some refinement & entertained us very Hospitally and is a man of general inFormation in point of Local affairs, tho Illiterate.

13th we are disappointed in procuring a canoe to go and see a spring which Rises in a Marsh Near the Bay & is said to be a great Curiosity. I returned to Monro & purchase a lot of Land situated on the Maume turnpike & about 1 Mile from the Bay settlement being the only one unsold on this turnpike.

Saturday 14 July I went up the River Rasin in Company with Mr. Lanman,¹⁹ Mr. R——, Maj. Humphrey²⁰ & Mr. Wondle. Return same evening. There are many situations along this river which are inviting, fine farms & orchards. On these as well as on the plains are to be seen Hords of Horses & Cattle in numbers in Credible. The Cattle are Large & excelent; the Horses are the french pony many of them are fast & carry great Burthens.

Sunday I visit Maj Mulks again & Stay with Mr. Cornell. Monday morning 15 [16]²¹ July I take a look at the lot of Land & get

¹⁸Pierre Picott purchased two eighty-acre plots of land in 1821 in Section 15, T8S, R8E; in 1822, he purchased land in Section 9, T8S, R8E. "Record of First Land Purchases in Monroe County from Federal Government," microfilm copy in Michigan State Library.

¹⁹Charles James Lanman came early to Michigan Territory and settled at Frenchtown on River Raisin where he held many local positions: attorney for the Territory, judge of probate, colonel of militia, inspector of customs, and postmaster. In 1823, President James Monroe appointed him receiver of public moneys; and he was reappointed by President John Quincy Adams. During the 1837 depression he lost most of his Michigan property. Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 321.

²⁰General Levi S. Humphrey was born in Vermont and was another early immigrant to Michigan when it was organized as a territory. He was a prominent proprietor of stage coaches on the south shore of Lake Erie. Wing *History of Monroe County*, 477. He was elected one of the township assessors in 1832. Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 140.

²¹Monday would be July 16. Keeney is behind one day in the dates for Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

it surveyed. Find it excellent land & the turnpike from the City of Detroit to Maumee Bay running through it. Tuesday the 16 [17] Rainy. Go to Monro 8 Miles. Wednesday 17 [18] hire a horse and go up the River Raisin on the South side. This is generally through sandy oak openings for 20 Miles when it changes in to a heavy timbered country and Rich Bottom land. Timber Black walnut, Buttonwood, ash, Bass, & Elm, all of which grow large. Under Brush thin & prickly ash, thorn, Sassafras. Thursday Return & buy a tract of Land on the River about 24 Miles from this place. I stayed with Mr. Kidzie a generous family & Neat housekeeper.²² Friday stay at Monro.

Saturday 21 July, I go to the Bay settlement about 11 Miles from this place and settle my timber business with the French; agree with Cornwell to see to my land in that place & prevent them French from cutting timber there. Return same evening to Chapmans, Monro. Sunday 22 Attend Church at the Court House. A man by the name of Boughman²³ delivered a discourse in favor of the Methodist doctrines. He is a great Reasoner & delivered the most ingenious & unanswerable discourse I ever heard in favor of his Doctrine

General Remarks on the Village of Monroe & the County. Monro is the Capital of a county of the same name situated on the south bank of the Raisin River 4 Miles from its confluence with Lake Erie. Its water privileges are the best of any I have seen in the territory & will admit of any number of Mills. It is a Neat little town & tho in a state of infancy must in a few years become a place of business. There is 4 dry good stores, 2 taverns, 1 Court house, a number of grocery & Mechanics of various & useful occupations, 2 schools, a polite & hospitable society. Near this village is the Battle ground where Winchester was defeated by the British

²²William Kedzie and wife, five sons and two daughters, emigrated from Delhi, Delaware County, New York, to Monroe May 14, 1826. They settled first on a farm on the north side of the River Raisin. In October the family moved up into the woods twenty-five miles west of Monroe.

²³The Rev. John A. Baughman occupied the circuit in 1825, following the death of Samuel Baker. The circuit embraced all the settled portion of Michigan except Sault Ste Marie, hence visits to Monroe were not frequent. Baughman's ministry continued in this state thirty-two years. He was "regarded one of the best and ablest and most successful of the veteran itinerants." Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 507.

& Indians. Here are to be seen the Natives of the forest in vast Numbers every day going to and coming from Malden where the Bureau from the British government [makes] presents of goods as a reward for their services against the United States During last war. Will the United States suffer this!! The country throughout this county is a Ritch soil & will admit of a compact Population as well as the adjoining counties & the trade will center at this place. Goods are brot this season from Citty of N York to this place for \$1.00 pr CWT & flour takin for \$1.12½ Pr Bll. Salt is sold here at 300 pr Barrell. A United Sts Road Passes through this place from Detroit to the State of ohio & many other & all Roads from the West Center at this place.

Tuesday 25 [24]²⁴ July, I left this place for Detroit in Company with Col. Lanman, Maj Humphrey, & others who are going to the East. This day we pass through the worst Roads I ever see. For about 10 miles the road is finishing & when done will be a beautiful Road. We arive at Detroit at 4 P.M. put up at Manton House, the Swarts, a good House.

Wensday at 4 P.M. we took passage in the Steamboat Henry Clay for Buffalow. There is fine accommodations aboard this Boat. We have agreeable Company and some from Kentucky & Orleans of Distinction. Here I form an acquaintance with Mrs. Ginings wife of Ginings of Luzerne County, a Beautiful Lady of about 35. She is pleasant, intelligent, & is worthy a better man. The Captain informs me that she is mutch respected and is a Lady of Considerable fortune & that her first husband, Mr. Fields, was a an ornimint to the Black Hawks Society where this Lady Resides. She did me the Honor to present me a purse which is a Speciman of her own ingenuity.

Saturday 28th ½ past 9 we arive at Buffalow after a pleasant voige of about 38 hours, a distance of 300 Miles. Put up at the Eagle Tavern. Sunday 29, Arive at Erie at 12. Stay with Mr. Grant till Tuesday at 9 A.M. Arive at Batavia 12. There I took My mare which I find at the Grants. 31st I pass thru Batavia & Laroy. Stay at Caladonia.

Wensday August first I Breakfast at Lima Near the Genesco River, West Bloomfield. Dined at East Bloomfield. A Sever drouth

²⁴Tuesday would be July 24.

has destroyed almost every vegatable on this Rout. The weather hot & the Roads dusty to suffocation. Here I see a Well which is a great curiosity. It is strong Sulfur water; was dug in dry land thirty feet deep and the water rushed in & continues to run over & no Bottom has yet been found. I turn off the road to Victor and strike the canal at palmira. Staid all knight. Thursday 2nd, I go to Newark. Stay at the Glospies till Sunday 5th of Aug & I start for home. Paid to John Gillispie 10 Dollars for Williams board & tuition. I take the road to Lions. [Lyons] Arive at Clyde. Here I leave the Canal & go to Adamsville to see my sister, Hall. I arive there at 5 o'clock; found them situated on a bay on lake Ontario, an unhealthy place. Family nearly all sick as well as neighbours. Left that place Monday noon Aug 7 and return to Clyde & to Seneca falls. Tuesday morn cross Cayuga Bridge & arive at Ithaca same evening. Wensday 8th Breakfast with my old friend Sherriff Vickory. Leave at 4 oclock. Stay at Capt Smiths 14 from owego. Thursday Aug 9 Breakfast at Owego. Stay at Pike with Sister Chusbeck [Chubbeck].²⁵

Friday August 10th I arive Home after an absence of 8 Weeks lacking one day.

²⁵Salmon's sister, Parmelia, married James Chubbeck.

Michigan's Historic Marking Program

George S. May

THE ERECTION OF TABLETS, PLAQUES, and other types of markers has long been carried on by a variety of groups as a means of commemorating a particular event or individual, or marking the site of a historic incident or building. Such groups as the Daughters of the American Revolution, veterans organizations, and historical societies have always been especially active in such work. However, systematic state-wide marking programs conducted by the state historical agency or a similar official state group are a relatively recent development. Virginia and New York, which launched their programs in the late 1920's, were the first states to begin this work. In the years since most states have followed their example.

A few states have continued to use the plaque mounted on a boulder or masonry monument which has been more or less traditional in historic marking. The rest have adopted new kinds of signs more suitable to the needs of the tourist and traveler in the modern automobile era. The wooden markers of rustic design, such as are found, for example, in Montana, Wisconsin, and Oregon, or the cast aluminum markers which are much more widely employed, are large enough and so placed that the motorist may read them without leaving his car. There has been much variation in the policy of the states with respect to what should be marked and the number of markers to be erected, but the objective has remained the same in all cases, namely, to stimulate a greater awareness on the part of the public in the history of the state.

In 1941 the Michigan Historical Commission was authorized by the legislature to begin a historic marking program in the state similar to those being carried on elsewhere in the country. World War II forced the abandonment of this program while it was barely in its infancy. For a number of years following the war, efforts were directed to the resumption of this work. Professor Arthur Wilcox of Michigan State University prepared a survey of historic marking in America which was presented to a conference on historic marking for Michigan, held in 1951. In 1953, Professor Willis F. Dunbar

of Western Michigan College, who is also a member of the Michigan Historical Commission, conducted an investigation of historic sites in relation to the major highways of the state.

With this information and experience behind it, the historical commission asked the legislature for the authority and money to begin again the marking of historic sites. As a preliminary step the commission was authorized in 1955 to register historic sites in the state. Finally, in 1956 an appropriation of \$25,000 was voted to enable the marking of sites to begin.

At the present time, therefore, the historical commission's historic sites program is a two-fold one. The registration of sites is necessary before any markers can be erected. The commission has defined a historic site as one where a definite event or series of events occurred. An example might be the site "Under the Oaks" in Jackson where the Republican party was organized in 1854. Buildings which are historically significant from an architectural standpoint or from their association with an historic era are classified as historic buildings, not historic sites. A good example of this type is the Biddle House on Mackinac Island which is important from a state-wide historical point of view chiefly because it is one of the few structures surviving from the island's great fur-trading days.

An evaluation of each site is made to determine whether it is of local or state-wide importance. Local sites are listed but not formally registered. Each of the registered sites is given a number and will be designated on markers as "Michigan Historical Commission Registered Site No. ..." A guide to Michigan's historic attractions which will be published at a later date will be based upon the list of registered sites.

At each of the registered sites a historical marker will be erected. In many instances bronze plaques or other kinds of markers have already been placed at a site. In such cases the accuracy of the text is carefully examined. The commission intends eventually to replace inadequately worded plaques with new ones, although its immediate concern is to erect markers at sites where there are none at present.

An official state historical marker has been adopted by the commission. The design of the marker is illustrated by the accompanying pictures. The markers are made of cast aluminum. The background of the face of the plaque is green enamel fused onto the



FIRST HISTORIC SITES MARKER ERECTED IN 1955 DURING MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY'S CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION



STANDING, CLARENCE H. JOHNSON, PRESIDENT HIGHLAND PARK BOARD OF COMMERCE, SITTING, WILLIAM CLAY FORD, VICE-PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR, FORD MOTOR COMPANY

metal. The lettering has a 23 carat gold-leaf finish which is applied so as to adhere permanently to the aluminum finish. The size of the plaques varies, although the design of all is similar. Plaques erected at highway turnouts or in parks have a lettering panel 42 inches wide and from 36 to 54 inches deep and are mounted between two reinforced cement posts. Markers used in cities normally have a lettering panel 24 inches wide and 36 inches high, and are mounted on a single post. Wall markers are of a similar size.

The official state marker is being used by the Michigan Historical Commission on all sites which it is marking. At the present time it must use public property when erecting markers paid for from the funds granted to it by the legislature. Private groups may mark a registered site with the official marker when the site is located on private property if they are willing to pay for the cost of the plaque and submit the text to the commission for its approval. Such was the case with the marker erected at the Ford Motor Company's Highland Park plant. The design of the official marker belongs to the state and can not be used for marking purposes without the consent of the historical commission. Local historical societies are encouraged to use a modification of the official state marker in their programs of marking local historical sites.

Since July, 1956, the commission marking program has been proceeding under full sail. Prior to this time many sites had been registered, and two markers had been erected; one at the Ford plant in Highland Park commemorating the introduction of mass production of automobiles there in 1913, the other at Michigan State University on the occasion of that school's centennial in 1955. Michigan State University paid for its marker as did the Ford Company. With the funds at its disposal for the fiscal year from July 1, 1956, to June 30, 1957, the commission plans to erect from fifty to sixty markers. Present plans contemplate a continuation of the marking program for several years. Although some states in the East and South have erected from a thousand to as many as six thousand markers, Michigan will limit its markers to a few hundred in number in the belief that to erect too many would only result in dulling the interest of the traveler.

These markers will cover as many aspects as possible of Michigan's history. They will include recent as well as early, social, economic,

and cultural events and also political and military history. Markers erected in the state parks and the highway department's roadside tourist parks will usually deal in a general fashion with some feature of the region's history. Thus, the marker to be placed in East Tawas State Park will deal with the lumbering era in that area, the marker at Bay City State Park will point out some of the events of the past connected with Saginaw Bay, and the marker at Holland State Park will discuss the Dutch immigration to that region. Fort Wilkins and Fort Michilimackinac happen to be in the state park system, but state markers to such other historic posts as Fort St. Joseph at Port Huron, Fort Buade at St. Ignace, and Fort Brady at Sault Ste Marie will be erected on city property in each case. Other markers in cities and towns will cover specific events, such as Lincoln's address in Kalamazoo in 1856, the building of the Clinton-Kalamazoo canal at Mt. Clemens, the bygone heyday of such points as Grindstone City, Fayette, and Port Sheldon, historic structures such as the state capitol at Lansing, and the Grand Trunk Railroad tunnel at Port Huron. Markers will call attention to highlights in the history of Michigan's outstanding educational institutions. Specially designed markers to the Copper Country and the Upper Peninsula's three iron ranges will include, in addition to a text, colored maps which will pinpoint interesting features in the mining history of these regions. Map-type markers, which have been used with great effect in other states such as South Dakota, will be employed elsewhere when the subject lends itself to such treatment.

These are some of the markers which are included in the historical commission's marking program for the present fiscal year. With the assistance of suggestions from individuals and groups around the state and its own analysis of those phases of Michigan's history which need attention, the commission will erect markers to many more subjects in the future development of the program. In this way it is planned to give Michigan a system of historic markers equal to the best that may be found elsewhere in the country.

Growth of Local Action During The British Military Rule at Detroit: 1760-1774

N. Franklin Hurt

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR was practically over by the autumn of 1760. French resistance in North America had collapsed, and the great tract between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River passed from the House of Bourbon to the English Crown. Immediately, the British secured their spoils by occupying the more important military and trading outposts. Detroit was among these. After the war, it remained under an incommodious military rule until the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774, but the regime was gradually tempered by the efforts of the French inhabitants to govern themselves by simulating civil procedure. Detroit was left under military control because the British policy makers refused to establish civil government west of Lake Nipissing, where future settlement was prohibited by the Proclamation of 1763. Settlement in the hinterland, they reasoned, would aggravate the Indians and disrupt the lucrative fur trade. Therefore, where colonizing was not intended the establishment of civil government was unnecessary.¹ The first six years of the martial regimen weighed heavily upon the French residents at Detroit. Then, the army was primarily engaged in assuaging or fighting the discontented and frequently hostile Indians of the environs. Little time could be given for the convenience or comfort of the new subjects. They were marshaled abruptly. With the abatement of the Indian problem, however, relief followed and the inhabitants gained considerable control over the fort.

The British military occupation at Detroit began mildly; there certainly were no punitive measures wreaked upon the inhabitants. The new regime must be introduced cautiously, warned Major General Robert Monckton, commander at Pittsburgh, in his orders

¹Lords of Trade to the Earl of Egremont, June 8, 1763, in *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791*, edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, 1:139-41 (Ottawa, 1918), hereafter cited as Shortt and Doughty, *Canadian Documents*.

to Major Robert Rogers on October 19, 1760. Rogers was instructed to garrison Detroit, and was commanded to "keep up the strictest discipline in the troops under yr. command and not suffer any of the inhabitants to be disturbed or molested as they are now become the subjects of the King of Great Britain. . . ."² Identical orders were issued to Captain Donald Campbell who was to join Rogers. On November 19, Detroit was occupied and the union jack replaced the fleur-de-lis without incident. Immediately, the French residents were required to victual the troops, but their services were recompensed and even lauded. The soldiers also were billeted in their homes; but even the eastern colonists, benefited with regular civil government, were not free from this burden. All began tolerably well. Captain Campbell, who succeeded Rogers as commandant in December, 1760, reported during the first four months that he had not had "one complaint against our Soldiers since we have been here—noe Rum that is the Reason." He also apprised his superior officer, Colonel Henry Bouquet at Fort Pitt, that Detroit was in a "healthy state" and "the Inhabitants seem very happy at the change of government."³

Unfortunately, this moderate beginning soon hardened. The military was obliged to give an ever increasing amount of time to Indian affairs. After the conquest, the tribes about Detroit seethed with discontent; they resented the change of rule and the supercilious attitude manifested toward them by the victors. The British failed to allay Indian misgivings and resentment, which culminated in the great Pontiac Rebellion of 1763. The insurrection was short-lived, but it wreaked havoc at the fort. The following two or three years were spent placating the Indians and repairing the shambles. Hence, the British scarcely had time to govern the new subjects with propriety and consideration during this early period. Their measures were frequently harsh. Oppressive taxes were imposed, and legal matters, especially criminal cases, were settled in confusing and often summary ways.

During this early period of the occupation, criminal matters were handled exclusively by the military officers. The Proclamation of

²"The Bouquet Papers" in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:42 (Lansing, 1892).

³"The Bouquet Papers" in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:48, 62.

1763 only empowered the commandants in the Indian country, of which Detroit was a part, to return fugitives absconding from the eastern colonies.⁴ This proved inadequate, and the British Mutiny Act of 1765 authorized the military officials to arrest and transport to the East for trial parties accused of committing crimes within the Indian territory itself.⁵ Transportation involved delay of justice, however, and the commandants frequently obtained special authority from the commander in chief in New York to hear and determine cases by court martial. Naturally, the military tribunal deprived the defendant of the ordinary safeguards of civil procedure.

It was used in late 1762 to try the alleged murders of one John Clapham, a trader who frequented the post. The victim was killed in the summer of 1762 by his two slaves while traveling between Detroit and Presque Isle. Some Indians in the company seized the culprits and delivered them to Major Henry Gladwin, then commanding at Detroit. The commandant reported the matter to General Jeffrey Amherst, the commander in chief of British forces in North America. Replying several months later, Amherst delegated authority to try the perpetrators of the "Horrid Crime" by a court of military officers. He instructed Gladwin to enter evidence for and against the prisoners and allow the verdict to be rendered by "a majority of the court." If found guilty, the mode of sentence was left to the commandant's discretion; but it should be "Executed in the most Exemplory & Publick manner that thereby Others may be Deterred from Committing such cruelties for the Future."⁶ Both slaves were tried by court martial, adjudged guilty, and sentenced to death, although one escaped the fate of his accomplice by fleeing to the Illinois country.⁷

Military procedure in criminal cases did not always follow the orderly pattern of court martial. Sometimes confusion abounded. It is readily seen in the investigation of complicity between the French residents and the Indians during the Pontiac uprising of

⁴"Proclamation of 1763" in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 36:14-19 (Lansing, 1908).

⁵"The Mutiny Act, March 24, 1765," in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, 10:484-86 (Springfield, 1915).

⁶"Gladwin Manuscripts," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 27:674-75 (Lansing, 1897).

⁷Amherst to the Earl of Egremont, June 11, 1763, in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library.

1763. When hostilities abated, Major Henry Gladwin held courts of inquiry to determine the extent of the suspected collaboration.⁸ He lacked authority to penalize the guilty, however, so deferred to General Amherst. The commander in chief instructed Gladwin to remove all suspected persons to Montreal; "the Priests & Jesuits in particular: this is a very proper time to get rid of them. . . ."⁹ Before these orders were executed, eleven of the thirteen suspects fled to the Illinois country. Two, Miny Chein and a Godfroy, were seized and immured. General Thomas Gage, who succeeded Amherst as commander in chief in November, 1763, empowered Gladwin to try the prisoners by court martial on the charge of "carrying Messages to the Illinois Country, and of joining the Savages in Arms."¹⁰ This was done, and the two conspirators were found guilty. Before sentence was executed, however, Gladwin was replaced by Colonel John Bradstreet. The new commandant, who committed several irregularities, pardoned these "notorious Villains" for some unknown reason.¹¹ This was done without the consent of the commander in chief. Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent of Indian affairs in the West, complained strongly about the unwarranted pardon to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, the supreme governing body of the British colonies.¹² However, nothing was done to rectify the matter; investigation, trials, unauthorized pardon, and other attending confusion were allowed to lapse.

Equally inept was the military's handling of a murder case in 1766-67. A slave belonging to John Sterling, a Detroit merchant,

⁸Testimonies given at these courts of inquiry may be followed in the "Gladwin Manuscripts," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 27:636-70. Also, see the Amherst Papers in the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor.

⁹General Jeffrey Amherst to Major Henry Gladwin, September 15, 1763, in the Amherst Papers.

¹⁰General Thomas Gage to the Earl of Halifax, January 7, 1764, in *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage and the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775*, edited by Clarence E. Carter, 1:10 (New Haven, 1931).

¹¹In 1764, Bradstreet expelled from the post one Alexis Cuillerier, charged with murder, upon no special authority. Five years later, Cuillerier was exonerated and recalled from banishment by orders of General Thomas Gage. See Wayne County Record of Deeds, liber A, 91, hereafter cited as Wayne County Deeds.

¹²In "Johnson to the Lords of Trade," in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, 10:391. Johnson also complained that Bradstreet had made unauthorized grants of land at Detroit.

murdered two squaws on May 7, 1766, and was sent East for trial. In his report to General Gage, the post commander, Captain John Campbell, noted that a French boy had witnessed the slaying. But no immediate action was taken, and a year later Gage remarked to Sir William Johnson about the case that no

positive Evidence can be produced. There are many strong circumstances which I fear would not be Sufficient to Condemn him, but all that can be done towards it must be done. It was a great mistake sending the fellow down the Country. The Indians should not have been withheld from doing themselves Justice on such a Villain."¹³

On May 20, 1767, Johnson reminded Gage of the boy who had witnessed the crime. A month later the commander in chief asked that the boy be sent to testify. Whether or not this was done is unknown. Nevertheless, the incident underlines the army's dilatory and confused manner in disposing of matters criminal.

Prior to 1767, several civilian officers, with very limited powers, were permitted to adjust petty civil matters among the residents at Detroit. Robert Navarre, who had acted as post notary under the French regime, was retained in his station by the British, probably as much for political as for judicial reasons.¹⁴ Navarre was an old resident; he knew the people, their language, and their customs very well. Hence the new rulers allowed small property and commercial transactions to continue through his office. Two other inhabitants exercised some indeterminable sort of civil authority during this period. An M. Pierre St. Cosme served as judge until May 20, 1763, when he was succeeded by Gabriel Le Grand.¹⁵ No commission has been found for these two officers; and a dearth of local records between 1760 and 1766 leaves us uninformed about their powers and the extent of their jurisdiction. However, they apparently exercised functions similar to those of a justice of the peace. Still, the adjustment of civil matters was not free from military interference during the early years, and title disputes among the residents had to be settled by military courts of inquiry.¹⁶

¹³George Croghan's *Journal of His Trip to Detroit in 1767*, edited by Howard H. Peckham, 33-34 (Ann Arbor, 1939).

¹⁴Captain Donald Campbell to Colonel Henry Bouquet, December 2, 1760, in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:45.

¹⁵"Pontiac Manuscript," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 8:297 (Lansing, 1886).

¹⁶Wayne County Deeds, liber B, 128-29.

Just as the settlement of legal matters was confused, the imposition of taxes was onerous during the first six years of the occupation. Besides the annual rents, quitrents and charges upon property exchanges rendered to the English Crown, taxes were exacted for the maintenance of the garrison. Shortly after the conquest, the British assessed property owners at the fort, and levied a charge of one cord of wood per acre of frontage upon the farmers in the vicinity. The burden was increased in 1762, when it was estimated that the total contribution amounted to 184 pounds, 13 shillings and four pence.¹⁷ This was paid in kind as currency did not begin to circulate at Detroit until 1765. Nevertheless, the primitive methods of hunting and farming, along with the Indian menace to both pursuits, made it extremely difficult to maintain life itself without being obliged to forfeit a portion of the produce. In 1764, Colonel John Bradstreet gave partial tax relief while commanding at Detroit.¹⁸ Bradstreet's successor, Lieutenant Colonel John Campbell, announced in 1765 that future taxes would be no higher than those during the French regime, namely, two sols per frontage foot of property. In the following year, however, Campbell reneged and levied one shilling per frontage foot on lots within the fort and ten shillings per acre on local farm lands.¹⁹ Chagrined and dismayed, the inhabitants petitioned the commandant against this "almost unsupportable" burden, pleading their "sorrowful situation. . . for a want of money and the languishing condition our trade is in." Further, they averred that the new imposition was "A sum by far too great for the whole settlement and all the trading people from different places now residing here to pay."²⁰

The petition is noteworthy as it adumbrates the rise of a successful local action. It was forwarded to General Thomas Gage, who instructed Captain George Turnbull, Campbell's successor, that "no taxes whatsoever" were to be laid upon the inhabitants at Detroit except those due to the King.²¹ Gage also sought further

¹⁷_____ to John Campbell in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 8:463.

¹⁸*The City of Detroit, Michigan, 1701-1922*, edited by Clarence M. Burton, 1:121 (Detroit, 1922), hereafter cited as Burton, *City of Detroit*.

¹⁹*Michigan Historical Collections*, 8:463.

²⁰*Michigan Historical Collections*, 8:462-64.

²¹Burton, *City of Detroit*, 1:122.

relief for the "very poor" subjects who had faithfully purveyed the troops amidst the rigors of Indian hostilities. On October 10, 1766, he recommended them to William Petty, Earl of Shelburne, the British Secretary of State for the Southern Department, "as objects worthy His Majesty's Compassion for the Remission of his Dues. . . ." ²² The royal dues, however, were continued.

Thus taxes at the post were burdensome during the first six years of military rule, but the inhabitants were not debarred from petitioning against them. In fact, almost complete tax relief followed the petition which the commander in chief considered and acted upon. The people had discovered one means of bettering their lot.

As the Indian problem subsided, more relief followed and the inhabitants began to encroach upon the military's almost exclusive regulation of the post. In 1766, the troops were placed in regular barracks, and in the following year a civilian justice of the peace was appointed to hear and adjust suits between residents; and between them and the traders who visited the post. Actually, the commandant had no legal authority to create such an officer; but he was not reproved, and the appointee continued to exercise his functions for over a decade before the validity of his commission was impugned. ²³ The appointment of a civil official was a great boon to the subjects at Detroit. Besides expediting the settlement of disputes, the concession provided a focal point for the development of a local initiative which secured the people considerable control over the government of the fort.

Philip Dejean, an unsuccessful merchant who had fled importunate creditors at Montreal, was appointed justice of the peace by Captain George Turnbull on April 24, 1767. His commission only authorized him to hear legal complaints; he was not allowed to make judgements or awards unless the litigants agreed to arbitrate and abide by the decision of those arbitrators whom they selected. Then, the determination had to be approved by the commandant before awards could be made by Dejean. This commis-

²²Shelburne Papers, 51:61, in the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor.

²³In 1778, the justice of the peace, Philip Dejean, was indicted by a grand jury in Montreal for illegally assuming the powers of a criminal magistrate. See Burton, *City of Detroit*, 1:194.

sion, however, soon proved insufficient. Traders and residents complained that a broader jurisdiction was needed. So the military commander obligingly issued another grant two months later. Henceforth, "a Temporary court of Justice" was to be held every two weeks "to decide all actions of Debts, Bonds, bills, contracts, and trespasses above the sum of five pounds New York Currency. . . ." ²⁴ Dejean, for his supposed "uprightness and integrity," was made "second Judge of the said court at Detroit." ²⁵ The office of first judge was reserved for the commandant. Besides establishing fine rates, he did not actively participate in the settlement of civil matters after 1767.

During the next eight years, considerable authority passed into the hands of civilian officials. Dejean adjusted practically all civil matters. He probated wills, collected debts, certified property transfers, arranged bonds of indenture between master and servant, and even began to assume powers of a criminal magistrate by 1774. ²⁶ His commission as justice of the peace also had stipulated that he was to act as "chief and sole Notary and Tabellion" and record all his proceedings in English, but the provision was ignored. Two other civilians, Robert Navarre and J. Bte. Campau, exercised notarial functions along with Dejean; and all three officials frequently recorded in the French language for the convenience of the inhabitants. ²⁷ Later a public surveyor, John Sterling, was appointed upon popular request. ²⁸ These officials encroached considerably upon the military's sphere of authority, thus giving the people a more immediate control of their own affairs. The residents noted the trend and happily registered their accord. In 1768, one group gave Dejean a vote of confidence, and another expressed gratitude for a civil officer in a memorial to General Thomas Gage. ²⁹ Thus, the administration gradually opened to popular participation.

Quasi judicial bodies composed of civilians also emerged after

²⁴Wayne County Deeds, liber A, 36.

²⁵Wayne County Deeds, liber A, 36.

²⁶On August 21, 1774, one Thomas Dagg, a late sergeant in the tenth regiment at Detroit, swore before Dejean that he would neither insult nor harm a Mr. John Shipboys, who had previously deposed that Dagg had threatened to assault him. See Wayne County Deeds, liber A, 271.

²⁷Wayne County Deeds, liber A, 23, 41, 42, 58.

²⁸Wayne County Deeds, liber A, 259.

²⁹Wayne County Deeds, liber A, 32, 35.

1767, which assumed additional control of legal matters at Detroit. They often took the form of arbitral courts appointed by the justice of the peace to adjust property disputes and debts. Occasionally their competence included criminal cases, but most of those remained under military jurisdiction.³⁰ Other bodies too sprang up to preserve law and order. These were voluntary groups which flourished among the merchants and traders. Naturally, decision, awards, or penalties could only be imposed upon members; but it does appear that these groups had some legal sanction for their actions. In 1767, Sir William Johnson recommended to the British Lords of Trade that his agents in the Indian department be endowed with civil powers "no more than has been of Late Given to Common Traders Who Exercise at Detroit &c a Judicial Authority in Affairs amongst themselves."³¹

Most illustrative of this type of local action was the antirum selling league created in 1774 by a group of rum vendors at the fort. The unrestricted sale of rum to the Indians in the vicinity had had untoward results. It was declared manifestly "Detrimental to trade and Dangerous to the Subjects." Therefore, twenty rum distributors at the post framed an agreement pledging themselves not to sell "Rum or other spiritous liquors among the Indians at their Settlements." Henceforth, the sale of rum was to be confined to a general store at the fort where no Indian was to be given "more than one small glass of rum at any time during the continuance of our said general store." It was also specified that spirits should not be sold to anyone circulating among the tribes unless he swore before the commandant or the civilian magistrate that he would neither sell nor give liquor to the Indians. This agreement was to operate for two years, but an escape clause was provided to meet interlopers. Ironically, but practically, the framers stipulated that

"should it so happen that any person or persons shall send Rum to trade among the savages, that we will send immediately to the place where said Rum shall be sold a sufficient cargo on our joint account, that the concerned in this agreement may reap equal Benefit with those

³⁰Wayne County Deeds, liber A, 300.

³¹"Review of the Trade and Affairs in the Northern District of America," in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, 16:66 (Springfield, 1921).

who may not join them in their good intention of confining the trade of Rum to the Fort.³²

Methods were provided to enforce these provisions, and they readily illustrate the inhabitants' efforts to regulate their own affairs by simulating civil procedure. A standing executive committee of four members — John Sterling, James Abbott, Alexander Macomb, and John Porteous — was named to manage the ordinary functions of the league. This group supervised the accounts, sales, and personnel of the general store; and could call a meeting of the subscribers at any time. Any signatory violating the agreement was fined three hundred pounds New York currency. In the event of disagreements, "four indifferent arbitrators" were to be mutually chosen; if they disagreed, a fifth person was to be selected as umpire. Awards and penalties were enforced by the executive committee, which distrained the property of the losing contestant until the arbitral decision was satisfied.³³ Apparently, the league proved unprofitable for it lapsed after two years. None of its transactions are extant, so its effectiveness cannot be determined. Nevertheless, its very existence signifies the initiative which the residents exercised after 1767 to govern themselves and preserve law and order at the post without military interference.

The petition was often used against grievances, although it only achieved successful results in the case of the burdensome taxes. The device was used copiously, but to no avail, during the Hog Island dispute between the French residents and the British. The controversy arose when Lieutenant George McDougall, a retired officer who had married Robert Navarre's daughter, was given possession of Hog Island, which lies in the Detroit River about three miles above the location of the old fort, and is now known as Belle Isle. By orders in council on May 4, 1768, the British government awarded the island to McDougall for "so long as His Majesty shall think fit to continue an establishment at Detroit. . . ."³⁴ The recipient did not take formal possession until a year later. Then, he immediately ordered the inhabitants to desist from grazing their animals on the island and threatened

³²Wayne County Deeds, liber A, 337-39.

³³Wayne County Deeds, liber A, 337-39.

³⁴"Proceedings of United States Land Board" in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 2:595 (Lansing, 1880).

trespassers with fines. Promptly, the French remonstrated against the grant, claiming that they had always held the island as a common pasture. On May 16, 1769, a petition was filed with the post commandant, Captain George Turnbull, whom the protesters later accused of refusing to forward the instrument to the commander in chief. At least five more petitions followed within the next fortnight: one to General Thomas Gage; two to Guy Carleton, governor of Canada; and two more to various merchants in Canada who were asked to intercede. The gravamen of each petition alleged that "the Island in question is a common ceded to the public by the late M. de la Motte, first [French] Commandant of the Country, to keep the cattle in safety," and ought not be given "in favour of a stranger come into this country."³⁵

Though eventually unsuccessful, the pleas did bring action. General Thomas Gage ordered the records in Canada examined for the original title; but none was found. In the autumn of 1769, the commandant at Detroit felt obliged to present a formal slate of questions to the inhabitants to determine the validity of their pretensions.³⁶ The following year, Robert Navarre deposed in an affidavit that from 1730 the inhabitants had used the island as a common pasture. Finally, the dispute reached the British Ministry which settled it in favor of McDougall.³⁷ The various petitions are noteworthy, however, as they further indicate the energetic attempts of the residents to secure what they considered rightfully theirs.

These efforts at self government were admirable, but they scarcely approximated a regular civil establishment. Civil procedure would have solved legal matters more conveniently, and various suggestions

³⁵These petitions were discovered in 1920, in the archives of the St. Sulpice Seminary at Montreal. They were translated from French to English, and five of them have been printed in Burton, *City of Detroit*, 1:443-47. Another to Governor Carleton, from which I quote, appears in "Petition of Sundry Inhabitants of Detroit," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 10:237 (Lansing, 1888).

³⁶Captain George Turnbull, in the "Acknowledgment of Certain Persons," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 10:239-41.

³⁷In 1771, the Ministry decided for McDougall, but the dispute did not terminate. Throughout the era of the American Revolution, the French inhabitants persistently besought the British to restore the island to them. Meanwhile, McDougall sold part of the tract, and the controversy became involved. The whole incident may be followed in Burton, *City of Detroit*, 1:438-53. Also, see *Michigan Historical Collections*, 2:585-95.

were made between 1760 and 1774 to institute it at Detroit. While formulating the Proclamation of 1763, the Lords of Trade were advised to provide the post with civil government, but reasons of policy overruled the recommendations.³⁸ Military officers at the post clearly realized the need, and shortly after the Indians were tranquilized a Lieutenant Thomas Mant observed that for the future "it will be impossible to preserve peace and good Order without some Institution of civil polity, as likewise some Regulations for military Discipline. . . ." ³⁹ In 1767, William Petty, Earl of Shelburne, one of the secretaries of state, endeavored to remedy the situation. He estimated that there were five hundred families at Detroit "out of reach of all sort of Government."⁴⁰ Upon the advice of Generals Jeffrey Amherst and Thomas Gage, he recommended

the Establishment of further new Governments on the Mississippi, the Ohio, and at Detroit, at one or more of which Places a considerable body of French have been suffered to remain since the Peace without any Form of Government.⁴¹

Most of the responsible British ministers, however, remained oblivious or callous about conditions at Detroit, and refused all recommendations which would relieve the post of military rule. Their typical attitude was expressed in 1766, by the president of the Lords of Trade, Wills Hill, Viscount Hillsborough, who thought "civil government was of doubtful value to the French. They were used to military government and needed no other."⁴² The Lords of Trade did accord Shelburne's proposal a little more intelligent consideration, and conceded that "Detroit, which is the great center of the Indian commerce. . . , does appear to us to be by far the most important object. . . ." ⁴³ They concluded, however, that it required only martial superintendence. This

³⁸Shortt and Doughty, *Canadian Documents*, 1:147-48.

³⁹Lieutenant Thomas Mant to William Legge, Earl of Dartmouth, May 8, 1765, in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, hereafter cited as Dartmouth Transcripts.

⁴⁰"British Cabinet Minutes, 1767," in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, 11:467 (Springfield, 1916).

⁴¹"Lords of Trade on Indian Affairs," in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, 16:195.

⁴²Viscount Hillsborough to the Lords of Trade, August 2, 1766, Dartmouth Transcripts.

⁴³*Illinois Historical Collections*, 16:195.

note knelled the end of ministerial consideration of the problem until the debates on the Quebec Act.

Meanwhile, recommendations for civil government at Detroit continued to deluge the British.⁴⁴ Most of them deplored the inadequate means of handling criminal matters, and not a few lamented the military's burdensome restrictions on trade. In 1772, one observer noted that the growing commerce at the post absolutely demanded a civil establishment, the expense of which would be easily and willingly defrayed by the inhabitants.⁴⁵ The following year a group of Canadian merchants even memorialized the British king, George III, hoping that civil jurisdiction would be extended to Detroit and other western points for the more convenient regulation of trade.⁴⁶ Finally, the whole western policy was revised by the British government, and in 1774, a clause of the Quebec Act provided for the establishment of a regular civil structure at Detroit. Unfortunately, the sudden outbreak of the American Revolution precluded the establishment of the new system, and the most important trading center in the old northwest endured another fourteen years of military rule.⁴⁷

Thus, the initial fourteen years of the British military occupation at Detroit may be divided into two phases. Until 1767, the regime was confused and frequently harsh. Legal matters were settled in random ways with the military handling criminal cases exclusively and ineptly, and allowing only limited civilian regulation of petty property and commercial matters. Also, the inhabitants were taxed oppressively to maintain the garrison, and were obliged to quarter the troops. All of this may be attributed primarily to the army's preoccupation with actual or imminent Indian hostilities. With the abatement of that problem, considerable relief followed. The troops were placed in regular military barracks; taxes were reduced upon a petition from the inhabitants; and

⁴⁴Many of these are quoted in Clarence E. Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774*, Chap. 2 (Washington, 1910).

⁴⁵Edward Abbott to William Legge, Earl of Dartmouth, August 15, 1772, in the Dartmouth Transcripts.

⁴⁶Shortt and Doughty, *Canadian Documents*, 1:507-8.

⁴⁷By the treaty of Paris of 1783, which terminated the Revolutionary War, Detroit passed to the United States. However, the British retained the post until the Jay Treaty in 1796. In 1788, the Detroit area was included in the District of Hesse and provided with a regular judicial system.

various local officers—justice of the peace, notaries, and surveyor—began to encroach upon the military's sphere of authority after 1767. Also, quasi judicial bodies, like the courts of arbitration and the antirum selling league, were formed by the residents to regulate their own affairs and preserve law and order at the post. Upon occasions, the people used the petition to obtain redress of grievances. None of their efforts at self government, however, were an adequate substitute for regular civil government. Many attempts were made to establish it at Detroit between 1760 and 1774, but it was not granted until the eve of the American Revolution. That conflict delayed realization of the boon another fourteen years.

Detroit Under Siege 1763

Myles M. Platt

THE SIEGE OF DETROIT was only an historical interlude in civilized man's relentless march to crush an Indian culture he could not comprehend. In retrospect the siege was only a pause in the course of empire, but for those who were there it was a tense experience, straining the fibers of endurance. For 176 days a handful of English infantrymen under the direction of an intrepid commander withstood all the skill of the great Indian genius, Pontiac, war chief of the Ottawas.

In 1763 Detroit was sixty-two years old and by frontier standards, a thriving community. It was thoroughly French-Canadian and devoutly Roman Catholic, yet for three years the protecting garrison within the stockade had consisted of about one hundred twenty men of the 60th Royal American Regiment, a portion of the British colonial army. The Capitulation of Canada, following the capture of Montreal in 1760, awarded the British crown all of what was then considered Canada. This included the French held Ohio valley and the Northwest Territory as far south as Illinois.

Although the French certainly had their own Indian difficulties, especially around their populated areas, French diplomacy after the Queen Anne's War was deliberately designed to cement Indian allegiance to the Court of Versailles. Primarily desiring a fur-trading economy rather than one based on the cultivated field of the farmer, the French were able to convince the Indian of the value of a peaceful relationship. This new frontier maneuver necessitating the lavish disposal of gifts for the tribes also encouraged a general feeling of comradeship between French and Indian.¹ French settlers were particularly adept at getting along with their native neighbors. At Detroit all the habitants knew at least one Indian dialect and constantly associated with the Indian as social equals.

¹Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:79 (Boston, 1922). "Reports on American Colonies 1721-62" in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:11 (Lansing, 1892). Nelson Vance Russell, *The British Regime in Michigan*, 18 (Northfield, Minnesota, 1939).

The voyageurs and coureurs de bois often lived in the Indian camps and intermarriage was not uncommon.²

During the American phase of the Seven Years War (1754-1761) the English early recognized the effectiveness of their enemy's diplomacy. Through the efforts of a few capable agents loaded with gifts, they were able to wean some of the frontier tribes away from their French "fathers." English success in this endeavor was furthered when a bankrupt France found itself unable to supply their Indian allies with needed equipment. After 1760, however, General Jeffery Amherst, military commander in America, disregarded the considered advice of his own agents and instituted a strict economy program for all the northwest forts. Amherst possessed an excellent military record, but he demonstrated a narrow understanding of the Indian when he obstinately said, "as to purchasing the good behavior either of Indians or any other is what I do not understand. When men of whatsoever race behave ill they must be punished, but not bribed."³

Amherst's penny-pinching found immediate reaction from the forts. Captain Donald Campbell, temporary commander at Detroit, wrote that Indian ammunition for hunting was dismally low and urged his immediate superior, Colonel Henri Bouquet, at Fort Pitt to send him the needed powder "though it is against the general's orders."⁴ Between the policy of rigid economy and an English colonial haughtiness Indian discontent spread rapidly. French-inspired war wampums, calling for a general uprising, were circulated among the tribes soon after the fall of Montreal.⁵ King Louis' cause was aided by Spain's declaration of war against the English in the summer of 1762. Even so, it took the unusual leadership

²Calvin Goodrich, *The First Michigan Frontier*, 99 (Ann Arbor, 1940). William Frederick Poole, "The West, from the Treaty of Peace with France, 1763, to the Treaty of Peace with England, 1783," in *Narrative and Critical History of America*, edited by Justin Winsor, volume 6, part 2, 688 (Boston, 1887). Thomas Mante, *The History of the Late War in North America*, 479 (London, 1764). "Reports on American Colonies 1721-1762," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:82.

³*Papers of Sir William Johnson*, edited by James Sullivan, 3:345 (Albany, 1921).

⁴Campbell to Bouquet, October 12, 1761, in the "Bouquet Papers," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:117.

⁵"A Court of Inquiry held by order of Major Gladwin" in *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Charles Moore, 652 (Lansing, 1897). The John Porteous Diary, 2:1 in the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library.

of an Ottawa chieftain in the vicinity of Fort Detroit to finally ignite the fire of the most formidable Indian insurrection in history.

The term "Detroit" applied to more than the stockaded fort. It encompassed all the populated area along both banks of the river; the fort itself, the French ribbon farms, and the nearby Indian villages. The English occupying-force was surprised to find such a community in the heart of an expected wilderness. The population estimates of the French-Canadians ranged from five hundred to twenty-five hundred⁶ and joined with the large concentrations of Ottawas, Potawatomis, and Hurons made Detroit the most populated area of the Northwest Territory. George Croghan, noted trader and Indian agent, reported "the county is fertile and level and capable of being made as fine a settlement as any I have seen in America."⁷ Captain Campbell in an official communique said, "the fort is much better than expected, it is one of the best stockades I have seen."⁸ Major Robert Rogers, leader of the famous Rangers, mentioned that the pickets were a full "twenty-five feet high."⁹ This was undoubtedly a Rogers' exaggeration but it does indicate that the notable Indian fighter was impressed.

In 1760 the fort, having been three times enlarged since 1750, was constructed in the form of a rectangle, 372 feet north and south and 600 feet east and west. Within the walls seventy to eighty houses were laid out along narrow streets. St. Anne's Church

⁶Almon Parkins, *The Historical Geography of Detroit*, 80 (Lansing, 1918), mentions Croghan's estimates of 300 families in 1764. Clarence Burton, *The Building of Detroit*, 18 (privately published pamphlet in Detroit Public Library), writes "200 ax men were sent to cut timber on Belle Isle in 1764" (these included some soldiers). Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 221, quotes Rogers as saying "2500 inhabitants" and then he footnotes that this was a "high estimate." Howard Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 67 (Princeton, 1947), quotes Croghan's white population estimates in 1763 to be 678 exclusive of garrison, and 500 in 1761. Goodrich, *The First Michigan Frontier*, 54. "It is reasonable to believe that the entire white population in Detroit in 1763 was less than 700." Robert Rogers, *Concise Account of North America*, 171 (Dublin, 1769).

⁷Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 77. "George Croghan's Journal" in *Early Western Travels 1748-1846*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, 1:152 (Cleveland, 1904), "... the country is thick settled with French, their plantations are generally laid out about 3 or 4 acres in breadth ... 80 acres in depth ... the soil is good, producing plenty of grain."

⁸Campbell to Bouquet, November 2, 1760, in the "Bouquet Papers," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:45.

⁹Rogers, *Concise Account of North America*, 171.

was the most prominent edifice and its thirty foot steeple could be seen for miles. Campbell described the fortress to Bouquet.

The fort is very large and in good repair, there are two bastions towards the water, and a large fast bastion towards the inland the points of the bastion is a cavalier of wood on which are mounted the three pounders and three small mortars of cochoons. The palisadoes are in good order. There is a scaffolding round the whole which is only floored towards the land for want of plank, it is by way of a blanket. . . . The river is here about nine hundred yards over, and very deep, and every thing in great plenty before this last year.¹⁰

The fort was crowded with buildings, an open area, the "chemin du ronde" extended all around the inside of the stockade. The commandant's house was 43 x 32 feet, laid upon a stone foundation and contained plastered walls. Other buildings included some homes of settlers, barracks, the shops of merchants, a blacksmith shop, storehouses, a magazine where powder and shot was kept, and a council house. When the English came to garrison the fort some French families, still holding title to property within the stockade, chose to live outside the enclosure.

Notwithstanding the favorable impressions registered by the English officers the fort was knowingly constructed with a serious flaw. The terrain sloped decidedly up from the river, so Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, the original designer, was faced with a serious decision: either build the fort on the high ground without a gate opening directly onto the river, or sacrifice the military advantage afforded by a raised terrain in order to maintain an assured water supply. Cadillac chose the latter and built the fort on the slope. This meant that the activities within the stockade could be observed by an enemy from the east bank of the river.¹¹ Apparently the first commanders were not too disturbed with this but during the siege Major Henry Gladwin was to attribute a partial breakdown in his intelligence to this very sloping terrain.

Unquestionably, the fort was in good condition for the time and place, but it was still built of unpainted timber which rotted when wet and was most susceptible when dry to fire arrows. Almost all

¹⁰Campbell to Bouquet, December 11, 1760, in the "Bouquet Papers," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:47-48.

¹¹Floyd Radike, *Detroit, A French Village on the Frontier*, 3-6 (Detroit, 1951).

the buildings were made entirely of wood; many had sloping roofs, inlaid with dormer windows, a few were whitewashed. An occasional building was made entirely of stone. Besides the essential "water gate" there were two others, one on the west and another on the east side of the fort. Concerning the Indian inhabitants, one of their white prisoners wrote early in 1755:

About two miles above the Wyandot (Huron) town stands the Ottawa town (on the east bank of the river) Between these two towns live three French families. There was also three plantations in this distance belonging to three French merchants who live at Fort Detroit. The Ottawa town contained 90 houses or Indian cabins, but no church for the Ottawas are a heathen nation and not proselyted to the Roman Catholic religion. They are barbarous and savage nation and very wicked.¹²

The French farmer was generally considered lazy by his English conqueror mainly because he did not cultivate his fields with the high degree of efficiency which characterized the English yeoman. The French farms were laid out in ribbon stripes along both banks of the river. Each farm had a river front, and although the north-south limits were well defined the hinterland boundaries were vague and unattended, sometimes extending back miles into the forest and swamps. The habitants were illiterate, religious, and quite ingenious in their methods of entertainment. They lived on simple, but well-cooked, meals and the women were unusually proud of their hair styling. They built their houses close together, reflecting French gregariousness and for protection from attack.¹³

Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, when founding a settlement based on fur trading, knew that survival depended on luring Indian tribes to make their homes around the fort. These tribesmen were needed to do the actual trapping and were relied upon for assistance against

¹²James Smith's Account in Archibald Loudon, *Selection of Narratives of Outrages Committed by the Indians*, 1:152 (Whitehall, Pennsylvania, 1808).

¹³Poor farming techniques practiced at Detroit are mentioned by Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 82-84; and Jacob Ferris, *State and Territories of the Great West*, 76 (New York, 1856). That the habitants were illiterate is indicated in "The Haldimand Papers," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 11:642 (Lansing, 1888). Religious devotion is stressed by George Paré, *The Catholic Church in Detroit 1701-1888*, 204-27 (Detroit, 1951). A recent publication on early French recipes indicates the diversity of the habitants' eating habits. Lucy and Sidney Corbett, *French Cooking in Old Detroit*, (Detroit, 1953). The female pride in hair styling is stated in Radike, *Detroit, a French Village on the Frontier*, 10.

unfriendly neighbors. In his negotiations with the Indians, Cadillac was so successful that by 1763 the Hurons, Potawatomis and Ottawas, sharing a somewhat identical language, were clustered about the fort. They formed a very loose confederation based on their friendship to the French and some missionary success on the part of energetic Jesuit priests. They looked upon the French commandant as their father who supplied them in times of need and looked out after their basic wants. The English found it difficult to function in a similar capacity with their restricted purse.

Commanding officers of the frontier posts reported disturbing undercurrents among the Indians early in the spring of 1763. Major Henry Gladwin, having relieved Captain Campbell as commandant in the late summer of 1761, informed Colonel Bouquet at Fort Pitt and General Amherst in New York that traders and friendly Indians reported increased Indian discontent, sufficient to provoke violence.¹⁴ Both Gladwin and Bouquet considered the information of enough moment to take military precautions. Gladwin sent out survey parties to determine the true temper of surrounding tribes. Amherst, while commending the thoroughness of Gladwin, did not fully appreciate the severity of the situation; either then or after the insurrection had cost him many of his wilderness posts.¹⁵

To Amherst, the Indian was a heathen barbarian, capable of only the most primitive efforts. He had no respect for the Indian as a man, as a warrior, or as a subject. From the correspondence of the day it would appear that among the British officers Amherst was almost alone in maintaining such an opinion. But he was still the commanding general and set the policy each subordinate was obliged to follow.

Although Indian unrest west of the Alleghenies was widespread, it lacked the essential element of leadership. Tribal independence, and that of the clan within the tribe, militated against the rise of

¹⁴ Amherst to Gladwin, March 21, 1762, in *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 673; Campbell to Bouquet, November, 1761, in the "Bouquet Papers," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:121; Croghan to Amherst, April 30, 1763, in the "Bouquet Papers," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:183. *The Journal of Jeffrey Amherst*, edited by J. Clarence Webster, 305 (Toronto, 1931).

¹⁵ Thomas Guthrie Marquis, *The War Chief of the Ottawas*, 30 (Glasgow, 1922). Russell, *The British Regime in Michigan*, 36. Charles S. Grant, "Pontiac's Rebellion and the British Troop Moves of 1763" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 40:79, (June, 1953).

adequate leaders. Amid the highly individualistic Indian culture only the most dynamic and bold of leaders could effect even a temporary unification for direct action. The necessary unification was finally established by exactly such a man — Pontiac — one of the greatest of Indians. There is genuine doubt that Pontiac could have foreseen the extensiveness of the rebellion he began on the banks of the Detroit. Possibly he nurtured a hope of extended success but such ambitions were tempered by Pontiac's knowledge of the mercurial nature of his own following.

On April 27, 1763, this Ottawa war chief called a meeting of the tribes living about Detroit to assemble at the mouth of the Ecorse River in the Potawatomi camp. There he harangued them for hours with the greatest of eloquence, calling into play every propaganda technique suitable for the occasion. He reminded them of the white invasion of their lands, then turned this natural dislike for the white man in general to the English in particular. He quoted from the Delaware Prophet, a "religious" leader of increasing influence among the tribes whose main tenet was a casting off of the shackles of white civilization. Pontiac stressed Indian loyalty to the French in the hopes of promoting the habitants to join him. He detailed his strategy of taking Detroit by treachery so that the prize of the lake forts would fall without endangering Indian lives. To all of this the attending tribes: Potawatomi, Chippewa (Ojibway), Huron (Wyandot), and Ottawa listened entranced, and later submitted to Pontiac's leadership.¹⁶

Pontiac met briefly with Major Gladwin on May 1, and according to plan informed the officer he would return with all his tribesmen to accept gifts, a procedure which was customary with the Indians upon return from their winter quarters, which among Pontiac's people were along the Grand River. The evening before the promised return, Gladwin was warned that the Indians intended

¹⁶Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:208-31. Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 112-29. Robert Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, Translated by R. Clyde Ford, 16-34 (Detroit, 1912). Mante, *The History of the Late War in North America*, 485-87. The Jehu Hay Diary in the *Diary of the Siege of Detroit and Other Authentick Documents*, edited by Franklin B. Hough, 2-3 (Albany, 1860). Major Robert Rogers narrative in the *Diary of the Siege of Detroit and Other Authentick Documents*, edited by Franklin B. Hough, 125ff (Albany, 1860). *The Journal of Jeffrey Amherst*, edited by Webster, 308.

to gain entrance to the fort under pretense of talking continued peace. Once inside the fort the chiefs would, at a given signal, attack the officers in the council room, while their braves opened the gates to the waiting savages in order to loot, destroy, and massacre the English residents. Gladwin reacted with typical dispatch. Alerting his well-trained garrison, he armed them as for battle and then informed his officers as to the expected danger.

The next day, May 8, 1763, Pontiac stoically entered the fort and seeing that elaborate defense measures had been taken decided not to signal for attack. Instead he talked peace, and smoked the calumet. Gladwin in turn distributed gifts which Pontiac accepted thankfully and departed.

The following day Pontiac was back with his chieftains, but Gladwin refused them admittance, whereupon the Indians returned to their camp, chanted the war dance and ordered out teams of warriors to kill the English settlers living outside the stockade. By evening the death toll reached fourteen settlers and soldiers.¹⁷ That same day, Pontiac moved his entire Ottawa village to the western side of the river in order to take proper siege positions. Gladwin ordered the water gate closed and informed his garrison through his usual evening orders as to their precarious position. The soldiers manned the walls in turns of six hours under the personal direction of their commandant. Thus began the most widespread Indian war in American history. It was not to end until two thousand whites had been killed and an equal number made homeless.¹⁸

Technically, the siege lasted until November 1, 1763, but siege precautions were maintained at the fort until August, 1764, when peace was finally established. Francis Parkman in his elaborate classic, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, states that Pontiac's strategy was "to

¹⁷The John Porteous Diary, 2:12-14, itemizes the dead as George Turnbull, his wife, and two sons; James Fisher, his wife and one child; two soldiers guarding cattle on Belle Isle, and one Frenchman killed by mistake. Those killed in the Davers survey party on May 6 included Robert Davers, Captain Robertson, and two crewmen. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 56-60. MacDonald to Bouquet, July 12, 1763, in the "Bouquet Papers," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:214, related events of the siege up till July 4. The Hay Diary in the *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 2-3. Rogers Narrative in the *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 128.

¹⁸Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 240.

destroy the garrisons [of all the frontier forts] and then turn upon the settlements."¹⁹ This was the prevailing interpretation of the Indians' intentions for a hundred years until Howard Peckham's, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, successfully challenged this thesis. Taking into account Indian culture, it would be too much to expect that Pontiac could, at the outset, plan such a thorough undertaking. As the uprising spread, it undoubtedly spurred Pontiac's hopes, but the Ottawa chief was too much of a realist to anticipate the entire subsequent insurrection. Certainly he had struck the first blow and because of his personal dynamism Pontiac was accepted as the honorary leader of the movement, but he had no direct authority outside of the Detroit area. Even at Detroit he had to share leadership among other jealous chiefs and was constantly called upon to remind them of their single agreed purpose.²⁰

Major Gladwin early decided to hold the fort and await reinforcements. Only then could even a minor offensive be contemplated. Being outnumbered at least five to one, he did not care to engage the enemy in open battle, nor to conduct himself in any way as to provoke an unwarranted all-out attack. That Gladwin was able to maintain the fort during months of frustration and uncertainty and in the face of continual news reporting the capture of all the surrounding forts, was an impressive tribute to his competence.

On May 26 Gladwin received information that Fort Sandusky had fallen to Indian treachery the day before. By May 30 runners brought news of the destruction of the first relief column by ambush at Point Pelee. News arrived on June 4 that Fort Miami had been taken during the previous week. By June 8, Pontiac had been joined by other tribes encouraged by the general Indian success so that the force in front of Detroit numbered eight hundred and fifty warriors. Gladwin was reliably informed on June 1 that the Treaty of Paris had been signed and the Seven Years War with France was ended. During the last week of June word came that Fort St. Joseph had fallen on May 25. A Catholic priest sought and gained entrance at Detroit on June 18 bearing a detailed report that Michilimackinac, the second largest fort in the area had been captured by Chippewas on June 4. Le Boef, under attack, was

¹⁹Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:3.

²⁰Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 111.

abandoned by its garrison on June 18. This information was brought to Detroit two days later, along with the rumor that Fort Presque Isle had also been captured. The rumor was confirmed within the week. On the last day of the month thirty-five men, representing Detroit's first reinforcements, arrived by sloop. One month after, Captain James Dalyell arrived with two hundred and eighty soldiers and ample supplies, but this event was dulled thirty hours later when Dalyell's force was defeated in an attempted surprise movement against Pontiac's camp. The force fought its way back to the fort, suffering 25 per cent casualties. In spite of these losses the garrison had been sufficiently reinforced to confirm Gladwin's conviction of eventual success.²¹

A conqueror's path is dependent on many variables. Pontiac was no exception to this rule, and his foremost imponderable was the conduct of the commanding officer at Fort Detroit, Major Henry Gladwin. All of Pontiac's strategy was wasted on the apparent stubbornness of the thirty-three year old officer whose chief asset was a realistic comprehension of an intolerable situation.

Arriving in America as one of General Braddock's junior officers in 1754, Gladwin participated in the march toward Fort Duquesne. He was present when the finest British army in America, utilizing

²¹For more detailed accounts of the Indian insurrection during the summer of 1763, see: Lt. James MacDonald to Col. Henry Bouquet, Detroit, July 12, 1765, in the "Bouquet Papers" in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:212-18; which gives an interesting day by day account of the first five days of the Detroit siege. He lists 18 killed on the first day. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, gives a day by day account of the siege at Detroit. This diary ends dramatically during the Battle of Bloody Run. Contemporary research has led to the belief that Robert Navarre, public notary and friend of Gladwin, was the author of this basic source material which clearly states the French habitant position. Mante, *The History of the Late War in North America*, 487, gives account of Dalyell's defeat. The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit*, edited by Hough, 54-56; this is another diary written by an officer at the post. *The Journal of Jeffrey Amherst*, edited by Webster, 319. *Georgia Gazette*, October 20, 1763, photostats in Burton Historical Collection. *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, November 25, 1857, reprinted a lost letter by an un-named member of the Detroit garrison during the siege; photostat in Burton Historical Collection. *The Massachusetts Gazette*, September 15, 1763; photostat in Burton Historical Collection. *Newport Mercury*, August 15, 1763, praised Gladwin's defense of Detroit; August 22, 1763, gave a rundown of events at Detroit from May until the end of June; photostats in the Burton Historical Collection. Gladwin to Amherst, May 24, 1763; Amherst to Gladwin, June 22, July 2, 1763; Gladwin to Amherst, May 28, July 8, August 8, 1763, in the Amherst Papers, volume 2, in the William Clements Library, in Ann Arbor. Gladwin describes action at Bloody Run.

the latest of continental military techniques, was destroyed by an inferior number of determined French and screaming Indians whose stratagem was ambush and terror. When the retreat was sounded on the evening of July 9, 1755, Gladwin was numbered among the wounded. The once proud army of 1300 suffered 877 casualties of which 456 were killed.²²

Unlike some British officers, Gladwin learned much from the tragic mistakes of his inept commanding general. Never was Gladwin to underestimate any adversary. He earned promotion to captain in 1757, and was assigned to the newly formed 80th Regiment of Light Armed Foot under Colonel Thomas Gage. This regiment was especially designed for frontier fighting. In 1759 he assumed temporary command of the regiment and was raised to the rank of major in December, 1760. He marched with Amherst to Montreal and after the capture of Fort William Augustus was appointed its commandant. Here he gained new experience as a post commander which was to prove invaluable three years later. On June 22, 1761, Gladwin was ordered to take command of Detroit and other northwest posts. He arrived there, ill with malaria, on September 1.²³ Gladwin remained at Detroit through three years after which time, tired and exhausted, he wrote to his immediate superior.

I am heartily wearied of my command and I have signified the same to Colonel Amherst. I hope I shall be relieved soon, if not, I intend to quit the service for I would not chose to be any longer exposed to the villainy and treachery of the settlement and Indians.²⁴

After his eventual relief Gladwin returned to England where he married, raised a family and lived a sedate life of a country gentleman. Never again was he to think seriously of returning to the

²²Gladwin Manuscripts, edited by Moore, 606-7.

²³Gladwin Manuscripts, edited by Moore, 607-9. Parkman states and Moore repeats that Gladwin returned to England after his illness in 1761. This is in error. The Gage Papers, September 1761-1762, in the William Clements Library at the University of Michigan, furnish abundant information that Gladwin did not return to England but went to Fort William Augustus where he acted as commandant. He returned to Detroit early in 1763. Moore's romantic account of Gladwin's marriage in 1762 wherein he states "Perhaps it was by way of a wedding present that Gladwin was offered a majority in Bouquet's regiment of Royal Americans . . ." must be discounted. The Hay Diary in *Diary of Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 2-3, footnote 2.

²⁴Gladwin to Bouquet, November 1, 1763, in *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 680.

military life. Nine years of frontier fighting in America was enough military career for any man.²⁵

In spite of his dislike for wilderness life, Gladwin never allowed this to temper his duty. He was a strict disciplinarian who expected nothing of his men that he himself would not endure. When the garrison stood six hours on the ramparts he stood twelve.²⁶ The French habitants and the Indian tribesmen did not take to Gladwin with the same robust friendliness that they showed Captain Campbell, Gladwin's predecessor. Campbell spoke French, liked the ladies at the post, and held Sunday night dances, a practice which Gladwin continued.²⁷ After Campbell's relief he stayed on as second in command and was held by Gladwin with affection. Nevertheless, the French and Indians regarded the major with respect and soon recognized in him a tenacity rarely seen in human nature.

Undoubtedly, Gladwin spent hours of mental torment during the summer of 1763. His letters to Bouquet and Amherst requesting relief are clear indications that he was almost at the end of his endurance, but he still held on for almost another year. Perhaps it is too much to state "that given a post to hold Gladwin would hold it till the last man was killed,"²⁸ but to the Indian envoys who sought him out he stated always with defiance, that "he would defend the place while he had one man alive in it."²⁹ Nonetheless, he kept the *Michigan*, the largest of his two vessels, always at Detroit and during the early nights of the siege had it loaded with essential material necessary for a rapid evacuation.³⁰

²⁵Col. Gladwin to Gen. Gage, February 24, 1774, in *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 610-11; 677-78.

²⁶George B. Catlin, *The Story of Detroit*, 41 (Detroit, 1926) Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 64. *Massachusetts Gazette*, August 18, 1763.

²⁷Campbell to Bouquet, June 1, 1761, in the "Bouquet Papers," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:71; "I am preparing to celebrate the King's birthday with a Ball to the Lady's you would be surprised to see them turn out so gay on these occasions." Lt. MacDonald to Bouquet, March 10, 1761, in the "Bouquet Papers," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:64. Paré, *The Catholic Church in Detroit, 1701-1888*, 210, laments that "mixed marriages between Catholic and Protestant were recorded for the first time in Detroit history."

²⁸Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 129.

²⁹John Porteous Diary, 17. The Hay Diary in *Diary of Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 9. *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, October 25, 1857.

³⁰Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 88. The Hay Diary in *Diary of Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 6.

Being a devout Anglican, Gladwin did not particularly take to the Roman Catholicism of the habitants he was to defend.³¹ But, never did he allow his sentiments to become obvious, and he was always on hand to assist the pastor of St. Anne's in whatever way he could. As a result of his military courtesy all the clergymen servicing the religious needs of the local population took the English side in the Pontiac war.

Since Major Gladwin early in the siege decided that his principal military problem was simply to hold on, whatever else he did was performed in the light of this overall strategy. The young major was on the defensive and his best hope for success lay in the fighting techniques of the Indian. Never had the Indian successfully concluded a siege operation. Ambush and surprise were his stock in trade, not constant military pressure.

Perhaps Gladwin's calm exterior was a forced one, but it impressed his men nevertheless and gave them the strength of his courage to endure a period terrifying with uncertainties. Preeminent in the major's mind was the problem of making the fort secure from an all-out attack. Practically speaking, this problem was without an adequate solution. With one hundred and twenty soldiers and forty traders the walls could not be manned properly. Had the Indians attacked in force and with determination they could have carried the post with relative ease. To Gladwin all of this was axiomatic, but some precautions could be taken. The walls were manned by the entire force.³² Reinforcements were requested immediately,³³ although it would take three weeks for troops to arrive from Fort Niagara. Gladwin probably assumed the siege would be over by then. Nevertheless, the sloop was quickly dispatched. For military

³¹Amherst to Gladwin, September 9, 1763, in the Amherst Papers, volume 2, item 9. "I would have removed by the very first opportunity to Montreal; the Priests and Jesuits in particular. This is a very proper time to get rid of them; and the less ceremony you use in parting with them the better."

³²The Hay Diary in *Diary of Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 9, 11, 13, "the garrison lay upon the ramparts as usual." *Newport Mercury*, July 11, 1763; "Detroit is the only garrison we have beyond this that can make any defense."

³³Mante, *The History of the Late War in North America*, 485. *Journal of Jeffrey Amherst*, edited by Webster, acknowledges Gladwin's letter of May 14. The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 8. Gladwin to Amherst, May 28, 1763, in the Amherst Papers, volume 2, item 1. "We are in high spirits and have provisions and ammunition enough to serve us until a relief arrives."

intelligence Gladwin could depend on his French interpreter, Pierre LaButte, and his notary, Robert Navarre. The British commander must have realized early in the fight that some French were also being utilized by the Indians for intelligence purposes.³⁴ Thus secrecy was impossible for both Gladwin and Pontiac. One of the mysteries of the entire siege was the failure of the Indians to use fire arrows. However, Gladwin set up water troughs throughout the stockade in expectation of such an attack.³⁵

Garrison morale was tense during the first days due to uncertainty. On the morning of May 30 the entire command was elated to see what they believed to be Lieut. Abraham Cuyler's reinforcement column. But this joy was short-lived. As the canoes passed the fort it was clearly seen that what remained of Cuyler's 97 men were all prisoners, captured at Point Pelee two days before.³⁶ As the canoe convoy passed the fort two prisoners were able to effect an escape, but the remainder were carried to Pontiac's main camp north of the fort. There many were killed in the most brutal of Indian fashion. The morale of Gladwin's men sank dismally as the tortured and mutilated bodies of Cuyler's men came floating past the fort.³⁷

During the month of June, thirty-five men arrived by sloop from Fort Niagara³⁸ but it was not until the arrival of Captain James Dalyell's force late in July that Gladwin began breathing easily, convinced that the fort now could not be taken.³⁹

Twice during the summer Major Gladwin was persuaded to act against his better military judgment; each time he regretted his choice. Whenever he broke with his overall strategy, disaster followed. On May 10 the Indians called for a parley and requested that the well-liked Captain Donald Campbell participate. The

³⁴Mante, *The History of the Late War in North America*, 486. Amherst Papers, volume 2, item 6.

³⁵Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 86.

³⁶The Rogers Narrative in the *Diary of the Siege of Detroit* . . . , edited by Hough, 132. *The Journal of Jeffrey Amherst*, edited by Webster, 306-7. Gladwin to Amherst, May 28, 1763, in the Amherst Papers, volume 2, item 5.

³⁷Catlin, *The Story of Detroit*, 54. *Massachusetts Gazette*, August 18, 1764.

³⁸The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit* . . . , 37, estimates 50 men. He breaks them down into 22 men from Cuyler's column and 28 men from Captain Hopkins Rangers. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 188, gives the number as 35. Amherst Papers, volume 2, item 6, gives the number as 50.

³⁹Mante, *The History of the Late War in North America*, 489.

major fully understood that a parley meant temporary cessation of the persistent Indian rifle fire. This lull would give him an opportunity to scourage the countryside for needed foodstuffs. Likewise his thorough knowledge of Indian fighting methods told him that the Indian *modus operandi* was treachery and to allow his dependable executive officer to leave the protection afforded by the fort was a risk he did not care to take. Campbell was eventually successful in persuading Gladwin to accept the parley opportunity. Captain Campbell left the fort accompanied by Lieutenant McDougal. They met Pontiac at the home of Francois Meloshe where the Indian dictated his terms. The garrison was to surrender the fort, board the vessel, without arms and depart for Fort Niagara. After hearing the offer Campbell turned to take his leave, but Pontiac prevented the departure by saying, "My father will sleep tonight in the lodges of his red children."⁴⁰ Realizing he had been duped, Campbell reluctantly submitted to being held prisoner.

Seven weeks later while still a captive, the brave captain was tomahawked to death.⁴¹ So shocking was the murder of this beloved officer that even General Amherst in New York, upon hearing the dreadful news wrote sadly that Campbell's death had moved him "senseably."⁴²

The other occasion was the foolhardy attempt of Captain Dalyell on July 31 to surprise Pontiac's main encampment. How Dalyell was able to extract the Major's consent for such an undertaking is only speculative. Some say he threatened to tell Amherst of Gladwin's poor fighting techniques.⁴³ Another said the Captain threatened to take his reinforcements back to Fort Niagara if permission

⁴⁰Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 250. Parkman gives no source for this quote.

⁴¹Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 210. "Then he killed him with a blow of his tomahawk." The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 5, footnote 12. He was tied to a fence and shot with arrows, then his heart was eaten.

⁴²*The Journal of Jeffrey Amherst*, edited by Webster, 314.

⁴³Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 203. Amherst Papers, volume 2, item 4. Amherst clearly expected Gladwin to take the offensive upon arrival of reinforcements. Most of Amherst's letters to Gladwin appear to have an air of disappointment in the Major's cautious fighting techniques. Even when Gladwin's strategy was vindicated at Bloody Run, Amherst wrote that "I must confess it (Dalyell's plan of surprise) appears to me to have been a very feasible one and promised success had not the Indians been apprised of the design."

was not granted.⁴⁴ Probably both were used to some degree, but the decision was still Gladwin's and he was not persuaded easily. Perhaps he contemplated that a surprise might work if spearheaded by the twenty Queen Rangers under Major Robert Rogers who had arrived with Dalyell and who was considered the foremost Indian fighter of the day. Again, the siege was twelve weeks old and it might be the proper time to take a definite offensive move. For a second time Gladwin reluctantly consented to the ambitious proposal.⁴⁵

At 2 A.M., July 31, two hundred and sixty men left the fort bound for Pontiac's camp a mile and a half to the north. About forty minutes later rapid firing was heard. Shortly after the bateaux which had accompanied the attacking force by sailing off shore returned with the first wounded and the news that Dalyell had been ambushed. The bateaux equipped with swivel guns were ordered back to help cover the ordered retreat.

By eight in the morning the remnants of Dalyell's command staggered back into Detroit. Dalyell had been killed, Captain Gray, second in command, had been wounded along with Lieut. Luke. In all, eighteen men were dead and thirty-four wounded, others were taken prisoner.⁴⁶ Indian losses were estimated to be less than ten killed. The next day Jacques Campau brought in the decapitated body of Captain Dalyell and added that the Captain's head would be found mounted on a distant fence post.⁴⁷

Naturally the Indians were overjoyed at such a single victory. But the fact still remained: Gladwin had been amply reinforced and the fort could be held provided the four hundred and forty men within the stockade could be supplied.

Pontiac's siege plans never contemplated an assault in force: he hoped to starve the garrison into submission. To this end a fairly

⁴⁴Gladwin *Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 626.

⁴⁵Gladwin to Amherst, August 8, 1763, in the Amherst Papers, volume 2, item 8. "The Old Campau House," *Detroit Free Press*, May 18, 1873, "... a reluctant consent was given."

⁴⁶Mante, *The History of the Late War in North America*, 489, lists casualties as 62. The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit* . . . , edited by Hough, 56, lists them as 60. *The Journal of Jeffrey Amherst*, edited by Webster, 320, mentions 58. *Georgia Gazette*, October 20, 1763, states 68.

⁴⁷Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 208. Friend Palmer, *Early Days in Detroit*, 370-471 (Detroit, 1906). The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit* . . . , edited by Hough, 56-57.

constant state of siege was maintained. Some days would pass without a shot being fired, but others were spotted with gun fire well into the night hours. The Indians took cover in the numerous farm buildings, in ditches, behind fences, and in the orchards that lay to the north and south of the fort. Patiently waiting for lulls in the attack, Gladwin would send out sorties, usually relying on the audacity of Lieutenant Jehu Hay to accomplish the task of destroying by fire any possible shelter that might be afforded to the Indian. All during May and June these sorties took place. Navarre's diary reports ten such quick raids, eight of which were lead by young Lieut. Hay. So successful were these daylight "commando" attacks that by the middle of June not a single structure stood within 650 yards of the fort.⁴⁸ From such a distance Indian marksmanship proved ineffective.

Napoleon's observation that an army travels on its stomach has universal application in any war. Both Pontiac and Gladwin were plagued with the problem of food for their fighters. However, the Major being penned up inside the stockade with from 175 to 500 mouths to feed felt the pinch much earlier and with greater intensity than did the besiegers.

On the first day of the war the twenty-four head of cattle grazing on Belle Isle were cut off from the fort. Thus the garrison's fresh meat supply vanished.⁴⁹ During the months that followed Gladwin used every means possible to insure an adequate food supply. To the French who took refuge in the fort he assigned the task of fishing in the river.⁵⁰ However, they were usually fired on and forced to return to the safety of the fort.⁵¹ On five occasions scouting parties were sent out to solicit food from the French.⁵²

The two lake vessels, *Michigan*, a schooner, and the *Huron*, a sloop, were used to carry supplies from Fort Niagara and it was this supply line on which the fort largely depended. Rations were so short that at one point Gladwin was forced to refuse asylum to French refugees unless they brought in their own supplies.⁵³ French

⁴⁸Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 168ff.

⁴⁹The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 3.

⁵⁰Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 134-36.

⁵¹Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 136.

⁵²Amherst Papers, volume 2, item 2. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 116, 184.

⁵³Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 204.

renegades fighting with Pontiac kept telling the Indian chief that the "English garrison was living on two ounces of flour per day and no pork, nor was there any at Niagara to be sent to them."⁵⁴

Every parley suggested by the Indians was readily agreed to by Gladwin who eagerly welcomed any cessation of hostilities, no matter how brief, as an opportunity to gather food from the countryside.⁵⁵ The Major actually had little hope of effecting an honest armistice with so wily an enemy.

However, by the end of September the garrison was still beleaguered and, although the schooner had recently succeeded in routing a boarding party twenty times the crew's number while bringing in valuable supplies, the fortress was still "on the shortest possible allowance."⁵⁶

In mid-October, when the subchiefs sued for peace, Gladwin, ever cautious, in promising them a truce stated he did not have the authority to sign a peace treaty.⁵⁷ On November 1, Gladwin, greatly relieved, accepted the peace proposal of Pontiac himself. He did not look forward to a winter on the frontier without supplies. He knew full well that famine and starvation could be the only results. As soon as the Major's scouts reported that the tribes had left the vicinity for their winter camps, Gladwin dispatched two hundred men to Fort Pitt so he would not have to feed them.⁵⁸

Throughout the siege the British ammunition was sufficient.⁵⁹ This is not surprising because the fort did little actual firing. Rarely did the British army tactic call for anything but volley fire and the Pontiac war gave little or no opportunity for this.

By any modern criterion the fort at Detroit was not a very healthy place in which to live. Having been built on a slope it could not enjoy the benefits of the usual westward breeze. The swamps and

⁵⁴Disposition of Thomas Meares, captive soldier, on October 1, 1763, to a court of inquiry, in the *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 652.

⁵⁵The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 4-6. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 116, 184. Amherst Papers, volume 2, item 2.

⁵⁶Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2:119. Goodrich, *The First Michigan Frontier*, 178. Amherst Papers, volume 7, item 20.

⁵⁷The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 178.

⁵⁸Gladwin to Bouquet, November 1, 1763, in the *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 680.

⁵⁹*Journal of Christain Frederick Post*, edited by Reuben G. Thwaites, 1:231 (Cleveland, 1904).

marshes to the west were full of mosquitoes which caused malaria among the garrison and residents. Poor drainage kept the lower south side of the stockade muddy and dotted with stagnant pools.⁶⁰

There seems to be no information on the availability of medical care for the fort. Among the smaller posts the commandant was expected to perform medical functions even for the Indian.⁶¹ Around Detroit it is presumable that Gladwin shared his medical "know-how" with the two priests of the vicinity: Father Potier, the Jesuit, who maintained a mission among the Hurons, and Father Bocquet, a Recollect, who was pastor at St. Anne's. It is known that the old French surgeon was still a resident at Detroit, and that he favored the English cause. Perhaps he aided also. There is no report of wide-spread disease during the siege, although the wounded from the Dalyell fiasco must have seriously taxed whatever medical service was available.⁶² We do know that three of the wounded died.⁶³

Water was abundant, thanks to the foresight of Antoine Cadillac. Had it not been for the "water-gate" which opened directly onto the river the fort might easily have fallen for lack of water. Although the area was well supplied with rivers and creeks, these were unavailable to the besieged.

As has already been mentioned, Gladwin utilized the several peace parleys to his advantage. Besides obtaining food, the young Major used the parleys to discern the disposition of the Indian temperament and to calculate the intensity of any dissatisfaction with the Indian supreme command.⁶⁴ However, it was most difficult for the European Gladwin to anticipate or judge the attitude of an adversary who never conformed to the rules of the Continental "gentleman's war."

After Pontiac's initial attempt to take the fort by surprise had been frustrated there appear to have been four instances of peace talks between British and Indians. LaButte, Gladwin's interpreter, was always among the tribes sounding out Pontiac for possible

⁶⁰Goodrich, *The First Michigan Frontier*, 84-86.

⁶¹Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 288-89. Ensign Holmes was murdered and Fort Miami captured by a ruse whereby Holmes was lured from the fort under pretext of administering medicine to a sick Indian.

⁶²Fannie Anderson, *Doctors Under Three Flags*, 28-30 (Detroit, 1951).

⁶³Anderson, *Doctors Under Three Flags*, 28-30.

⁶⁴Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 212-20.

peace terms. So persistent was this wiry Frenchman that Pontiac was forced to order him away from the Indian camps or suffer the consequences.⁶⁵

The first parley was between Lieut. McDougal, Captain Campbell, and Pierre LaButte on the one hand and Pontiac and Meloshe arguing on the other. Here the Indian held the upper hand. He dictated the terms to be accepted. He would grant the garrison their lives, but nothing more. Although the troops were hard pressed at the time, the terms were not inviting, especially after the full story of the surrender of Presque Isle became known. Although promised safe conduct to Fort Niagara the troops at the Presque Isle blockhouse were immediately seized, bound, and taken to Detroit where many were tortured and killed.⁶⁶ Naturally the soldiers under Gladwin were skeptical of Indian promises. The fact that Pontiac broke his word and kept Captain Campbell and the others prisoner supported this skepticism.

During July it looked as if the Indian confederation was breaking up. Pontiac had been before Detroit for two months and the fort still stood. On July 7, Potawatomi representatives accompanied by M. Gammelin, a French interpreter, came in to make peace. Gladwin received them cordially, presented them with gifts and promised peace if they would give up the white prisoners they held.⁶⁷ The next day a Huron delegation sued for peace and when Gladwin stated identical terms the Huron spokesman promptly accepted.⁶⁸ That same afternoon, the Potawatomis returned with more peace promises, but no prisoners. Gladwin firmly restated his conditions.⁶⁹

On July 11, a cease-fire arrangement was concluded with the

⁶⁵Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 68.

⁶⁶Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:297. Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 169-70. "Extract of a Court of Inquiry held by Order of Major Gladwin to Enquire into the Manner of the Taking of Presque Isle, Detroit, July 10, 1763," in the *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 638-39. Christie to Bouquet, July 10, 1763, in the "Bouquet Papers," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:210.

⁶⁷The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 41, 42, 43. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 212-20.

⁶⁸The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 45. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 212.

⁶⁹The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 46. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 214.

Hurons who had returned all their captured merchandise.⁷⁰ Four days before they had surrendered the seven prisoners they had held.⁷¹ The following day the Potawatomis presented an equal number of white captives, but Gladwin refused to smoke the peace calumet because he had previously been informed that the Potawatomis still held others in bondage.⁷² On July 13, the Potawatomis agreed to peace in a secret council at the fort.⁷³ Because of the Potawatomi and Huron defections, Pontiac by mid-July could command the loyalty of only the Chippewas and Ottawas, a total of about five hundred warriors.

In spite of all the peaceful protestations Dalyell's reinforcement column was vigorously attacked as it passed the Potawatomi and Huron villages on July 29 on the way to the fort. Indian accuracy, despite a dense fog, resulted in wounding fifteen, two of whom later died.⁷⁴ The succeeding day the faithless Hurons faked an abandonment of their camp in the hopes of luring the soldiers from the security of the fort and into a well prepared ambush. The garrison did not succumb to the bait.⁷⁵ When word spread that Dalyell's force had left the fort on July 31, all the tribes congealed again under Pontiac's leadership to defeat the captain of the 55th regiment.

With winter approaching and Indian supplies running low the Chippewas under Wapocomoguth and Wasson accompanied by three Ottawa subchiefs asked for peace. Gladwin, seriously threatened with a winter famine, agreed to a truce. Negotiations began on October 11 and continued for three days after which the Chippewas and some Ottawas left the Detroit River region for their winter homes in the south. In exchange for the truce the Indians returned fourteen prisoners, but Pontiac still remained adamant.⁷⁶

⁷⁰The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 45. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 218.

⁷¹The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 45.

⁷²The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 46. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 218.

⁷³The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 47. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 220.

⁷⁴The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 53-54. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 238.

⁷⁵Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 240.

⁷⁶The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 76, 78.

Finally on October 31, the Ottawa war chief received in answer to his letter of inquiry to M. Neyon, French commander of the Illinois, the following:

The great day has come at last wherein it has pleased the Master of Life to inspire the Great King of the French and him of the English to make Peace between them. . . for this reason they have ordered all their chiefs and warriors to lay down their arms . . . Leave off then my dear children from spilling the blood of your brethren the English, our hearts are now but one, you cannot at present strike the one without having the other for an enemy also. . . I bid you all farewell and recommend you to respect always the French who remain among you . . . make peace with our brethren, the English.⁷⁷

Realizing that the long awaited French army would not march up from the Illinois, nor would the great French fleet sail down the St. Lawrence to the assistance of their ally who had struck such a blow for French reconquest of the Lake country, Pontiac dictated the following letter to Gladwin, in French:

My Brother,

The word which my father has sent to make peace I have accepted; all my young men have buried their hatchets. I think you will forget the bad times which have taken place for some time past. Likewise I shall forget what you may have done to me, in order to think of nothing but good. I, the Chippewas, the Hurons, we are ready to go with you when you ask us. Give us an answer. I am sending this resolution to you in order that you may see it. If you are as kind as I, you will make me a reply. I wish you a good day.

PONTIAC.⁷⁸

Although fully attuned to any possible deception, Gladwin knew he could trust the weather much more than he could the Indian's word. The beautiful Michigan season of Indian summer was over and the first frost had already come. Gladwin knew the Indians had to depart in order to live. He accepted the peace overtures, but refused to see Pontiac personally. Oddly when Gladwin refused admittance to the Ottawa chief on May 8, it was the last time either would have the opportunity to see each other.

It must be frustrating to historians that the antagonists, Gladwin and Pontiac, should be so obscure. After this eventful summer, little is known of either of them. Pontiac was the subject of legend

⁷⁷"Letters from M. Neyon" September 27, 1763, in the *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 654.

⁷⁸In the *Amherst Papers*, volume 7.

and myth even before his murder in 1769. Howard Peckham does as thorough a job as is possible in writing what he calls a "biography of Pontiac."⁷⁹ Peckham however is forced to begin by admitting that the correct spelling of Pontiac's name is unknown, that no one knows the Indian's birthplace, his wife, or wives, and the number of his children are unknown. His true position within the Ottawa tribe is hazy and whether he was a full-blooded Ottawa is not clear. What military experience he might have had before 1763 and even his age are uncertain. Pontiac's movements after 1763 are discernible but before April 27, 1763, he cannot be traced with any degree of accuracy. Each claim to the Indian's whereabouts prior to that is open to contradiction or serious doubt.

Despite this lack of knowledge, Pontiac's accomplishments during the summer of 1763 rank him among the greatest leaders of his people. To appreciate Pontiac's greatness, an understanding of Indian society and culture is a prerequisite. Military critics have long pointed out where he erred, but most of these errors were not of his making. He is criticized for making known the details of his treacherous plans a full two weeks before their intended execution.

To the western mind trained to obedience this was absurd, but to the independent Indian tribes, notoriously jealous of one another advance details were an essential. The chieftains wanted assurances in conformity with their fighting traditions. The fort must be gained without the loss of Indian lives thus necessitating surprise. Full tribal participation could be expected only if all details were understood by the participants. To keep such preparations a secret for eleven days was asking much, but the risk had to be taken.

Peckham's major contribution to the Pontiac history is the refutation of Francis Parkman's main thesis: that Pontiac planned the entire Indian insurrection west of the Alleghenies by means of a close federation of tribes owing personal loyalty to him. By pointing out several flaws in such an appraisal Peckham actually enhances the reputation of the Ottawa chief. True, Pontiac could not direct the Senecas to attack Fort Niagara, but his fame was extensive enough

⁷⁹Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, ix. E. O. Randal, "Pontiac's Conspiracy," in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, 12:415-17 (Columbus, 1908).

so that when Fort St. Joseph fell, the local tribes there flocked to Detroit as reinforcements.⁸⁰ When Sandusky, Miami, and Presque Isle were captured, the prisoners were taken to Pontiac's camp.⁸¹ His influence therefore was definitely something with which to reckon.

Pontiac, perhaps better than any other Indian, realized that in order to defeat the British, the Indian would have to adopt some of the white man's fighting techniques. His determination to keep the siege in progress and his unwillingness to give up even in the face of major desertions within his own ranks places him in a category by himself. He likewise understood the value of supplies to the fort. Once he discovered that persuasion for an all out assault was futile he knew that success depended on isolating the fort by destroying all lines of communication and supply. To accomplish this Pontiac kept his warriors always before the fort, firing spasmodically, keeping the garrison awake and on the alert. However after two months of such tactics the individual braves tired and relaxed their vigilance.

Repeatedly Pontiac attempted to destroy the vessels which were the fort's sole link with Fort Niagara. At various times fire rafts,⁸² an actual boarding attack which nearly carried one of the vessels,⁸³ and an interceptive move utilizing scores of canoes were launched.⁸⁴ Each time the vessels ascended the river they came under continuous fire from the shore.

In any siege, reinforcement of the beleaguered must be prevented. Pontiac was eminently successful in his complete destruction of Cuyler's relief column at Point Pelee at the end of May. The next reinforcements, however, thirty-five in number arrived safely aboard the Huron. Finally Dalyell with half a regiment under his

⁸⁰Gladwin to Amherst, July 28, 1763, in the Amherst Papers, Volume 2, item 7.

⁸¹Gladwin Manuscripts, edited by Moore, 636-39. "Journal of Thomas Morris 1764," in *Early Western Travels 1748-1846*, edited by Thwaites, 1:205.

⁸²The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 46. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 218, 228.

⁸³Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2:331-33. Mante, *The History of the Late War in North America*, 498-99. *The Journal of Jeffrey Amherst*, edited by Webster, 323. *Georgia Gazette*, November 10, 1763.

⁸⁴Mante, *The History of the Late War in North America*, 499. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 182.

command gained the fort only under cover of a heavy fog during the last week of July.

Indian individualism was Pontiac's greatest problem, and one never solved. It is said that Wasson, chief of the Chippewas, demanded the life of Captain Campbell because Wasson's nephew had been killed and scalped by Lieut. Hay during one of the garrison's sorties. Pontiac reluctantly gave up Campbell only after Wasson threatened to take his band of two hundred and fifty home if the demand was not met.⁸⁵ The fact that many white prisoners were able to escape attests to Indian lack of vigilance.⁸⁶ Actually, the Indian was a better marksman than his English adversary.⁸⁷ But once his gun was broken he could not repair it nor did he know how to make his own powder. The Indian might be a good shot, but he was a poor technician.⁸⁸

On numerous occasions Pontiac was forced to call his "confederation" into council to keep up their courage and determination. During the troubled days of July he summoned the chiefs to a council in an attempt to strengthen cooperation. This type of activity occupied much of his time all summer. Despite many valid grievances the Indian tribes of the lake country had no sustaining economic motive on which to unite for survival. They fought, so Pontiac reminded them, to rectify certain specific injustices, even if he had something grander in his own mind. They wanted gifts, ammunition, fair fur prices, social recognition and rum; they did not fear increased settlement from the British.

Indian psychology presented Pontiac with his own supply problems. Seldom did the Indian plan for a long campaign, for his fighting techniques of surprise, terror, and ambush did not call for prolonged hostilities. However, as reinforcements flocked to Pontiac from the outlying villages the supply problem became acute. True the Indians raised some crops but never sufficient to feed themselves adequately even under normal living conditions. When Cuyler's force was destroyed, the captured provisions were quickly

⁸⁵Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 208. Gladwin *Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 626. Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:309.

⁸⁶The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 38. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 190, 208.

⁸⁷Newport Mercury, July 11, 1763.

⁸⁸Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 11.

consumed in celebrations. Pontiac was driven then, to allot quotas to the French habitants and make periodic collections.⁸⁹ Thus Pontiac, refusing to follow the usual Indian war pattern, did plan in advance and did consider supplies essential. Nevertheless, when winter came the tribes had to lift the siege and depart for warmer climates or starve. Indian society was firmly anchored to the family, the head of which could never stand by idly while his children wanted for food.

One great mystery of Pontiac's strategy was his failure to rely on fire arrows to inflict maximum damage to the fort. Navarre says Pontiac did not have the necessary equipment.⁹⁰ However, the garrison was often alerted that such an attack was imminent. Presque Isle, which some of Pontiac's Ottawas assisted in capturing, was attacked and burned by fire arrows. Certainly then the raw materials could not have been impossible to obtain. Another writer stated that Pontiac wanted the valuable supplies within the fort, and the employment of fire arrows would only destroy the prized object of the attack.⁹¹ The desire for supplies may have deterred the Indian general in the early days of the siege, but in the face of defection within his command Pontiac should have turned to their use in desperation. A third account has it that Pontiac contemplated the use of fire arrows, concentrating his attack on the steeple of St. Anne's. In this he was cautioned by the Jesuit priest that such a thing would bring down upon Pontiac's enterprise the wrath of God, and this the superstitious Indian did not dare to chance.⁹²

In the end Pontiac was defeated not so much by the British as by the culture, tradition, and individualism of the very Indian he led into battle.

French residents or habitants, for the most part, found themselves in a precarious and embarrassing position throughout the days of the siege. Pontiac always claimed he was fighting the French battle, and he looked anxiously for a French relief army. In the meantime he urged the habitants to join him in open battle against the English, reminding his French brothers that the English were really the

⁸⁹Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 108.

⁹⁰Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy*, 1763, 114.

⁹¹Catlin, *The Story of Detroit*, 55.

⁹²Gladwin *Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 620. Paré, *The Catholic Church in Detroit* 1701-1888.

common enemy of all. As might be expected some of the French gave wholehearted support to the Indian cause. Among the more prominent residents who threw in with Pontiac were: Jacques Meloshe, Mathias Meloshe, Francois Meloshe, Antoine Beaubien, Charles Dusette, Pierre Bart, Miney Chene, M. Mayack, M. St. Aubin, Jacques Godfroy, M. Rannoc, and M. Predone.⁹³ On the other hand there were a few families who remained loyal to the English. They contended that a nonwhite victory could in the long run gain the French little. These habitants were usually connected to the fort as were Robert Navarre, the notary; Pierre LaButte, the interpreter; Gabriel Legrand, former surgeon major of the French garrison; and Jacques Baby, perhaps the wealthiest of the residents and one of the scouts for Dalyell's attack force.⁹⁴ Baby entered the fort with his entire family and placed all his foodstuffs at the disposal of his friend, Major Gladwin.

The majority of the habitants, however, earnestly desired neutrality. This made their position at times almost impossible. They had to remain on their farms lest Pontiac seize their cultivated lands when they sought refuge within the fort. By remaining, they were subject to the quotas set by Pontiac, to the urgings of Pontiac to join him in open conflict, and to the threats of the subchiefs who at times thought Pontiac's policy toward the French altogether too conciliatory.

As early as May 11, Indian warriors requested and received ammunition from the habitants on a door-to-door canvass.⁹⁵ On May 13 Pontiac conferred with French leaders urging them to join him. The French tactfully delayed an answer reminding Pontiac of their legal position. They had sworn allegiance to the British flag as prescribed by the Capitulation of Canada. Now, they felt, they could not take up arms against the English unless ordered to do so by some higher French authority.⁹⁶ On May 17, Pontiac allotted

⁹³Gladwin *Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 646, 648, 651, 656.

⁹⁴Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 66-72, 179. The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 65. Gladwin to Amherst, August 11, 1763, in the Amherst Papers, volume 2, item 9; herein Gladwin commends Jacques Baby. Amherst to Gladwin, September 9, 1763, in the Amherst Papers, volume 2, item 10; "The inhabitants who have exerted themselves in behalf of your garrison most certainly deserve to be rewarded. . . ."

⁹⁵Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 78.

⁹⁶Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 100.

the first quotas of provisions to the settlers, then assigned Indian war parties to prevent the French from entering or leaving the fort for fear they were carrying vital intelligence. To maintain French good will the latter order had to be rescinded.⁹⁷ On May 18, Pontiac agreed to send a messenger to Illinois for advice from the French commander there as to the true legal status of the habitant.⁹⁸

By the third week of the siege three distinct factions among the habitants appeared: pro-Indian, propeace and the undecided. The propeace were in the majority. Fifteen of their number called upon Pontiac on May 25 and criticized his warriors for their threatening behavior. Pontiac was visibly disappointed because he had been led to understand that the French delegation was coming to join him. However, he still desired friendly relations and therefore apologized for any misconduct on the part of his followers. He countered with a request that Indian women be permitted to raise corn on French land. To this the delegation agreed.⁹⁹

One month later Pontiac in another bid for French support actually attended Mass. He spoke to the habitants and was successful in obtaining more provisions. By this time Pontiac was almost entirely dependent upon the habitants for regular provisions.¹⁰⁰ Still, incidents of forceful seizure of French goods were brought to the attention of the Indian commander. One such occurrence concerned M. Lasal, a merchant from Montreal, who arrived in Detroit with merchandise and liquor for local customers. The Potawatomis seized two barrels of wine, but Pontiac interposed in time, and ordered the liquor confiscated and stored in the house of M. Campau.¹⁰¹ On another occasion M. Cavallier reported Indians asking him for liquor; when he refused, they took it. Cavallier obviously offered no resistance.¹⁰²

A third council with the habitants was called by Pontiac on July 3 to discuss necessary strategy for preventing further reinforcements. Thirty-five men had arrived by sloop three days before. In front of the assembly Pontiac declared he would recognize and respect

⁹⁷Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 126.

⁹⁸Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 110.

⁹⁹The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 10. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 126.

¹⁰⁰Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 166.

¹⁰¹Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 162-64.

¹⁰²Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 166.

French neutrality, but that he would also accept volunteers to fight with him. The French, still cautious, said they would be glad to fight as soon as Pontiac removed the "bonds", namely, the order of the French king not to fight the English. One young Frenchman then took up the warbelt and urged all the young men to follow him. This demonstration greatly pleased Pontiac.¹⁰³

Some tribes within the loose Indian coalition opposed Pontiac's conciliatory policy toward the residents. At times they threatened the habitants with an armed attack unless they showed more sympathy toward the Indian cause. The French were quick to react to this intimidation. They organized into fighting units, and posted sentries along the river roadways. A very few even sought refuge within the fort.¹⁰⁴ The young French renegade who at the last Indian council had chanted the war dance was designated by Pontiac to raise a detachment of younger men to fight with the Indians. It was estimated that three hundred men might be recruited, but none came forward and the renegade had to flee to the Illinois country for fear of French retaliation.¹⁰⁵

On July 17 another Indian scare was circulated among the habitants. So disturbed were they this time that they immediately dispatched M. Gammelin to meet with Gladwin and ask for arms and ammunition. Gladwin responded favorably and issued the necessary arms. He also alerted the French inside the fort in case the farms were attacked. Again, no attack occurred.¹⁰⁶

In May as the siege was beginning, Major Gladwin ordered all the French within the fort to assist in distributing water tubs, to be used in case of a fire-arrow attack. Those habitants who remained inside the stockade during the siege were called upon for more direct aid. Four times the Major "seized" foodstuffs from them for the common warehouse. On June 3, Gladwin called all the residents of the fort together and read the final French-English Peace Treaty, after which he urged them to form a militia and elect their own captain. The residents responded and elected James

¹⁰³The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 38. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 198-200.

¹⁰⁴The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 37. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 204, 222, 224; 228; 236.

¹⁰⁵Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 210.

¹⁰⁶The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 48-49. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy 1763*, 210.

Sterling, a popular Irish merchant, as the captain of about forty men. Sterling immediately placed his "troops" at the disposal of Gladwin, who used them in regular military capacities.¹⁰⁷

Although the English showed no great understanding or tolerance of Roman Catholicism, the record of the Catholic priests during the summer of 1763 was one of peace and reconciliation. Father Potier, head of the Huron mission, went so far as to withhold the sacraments from his "good" Hurons until they abandoned the Pontiac cause.¹⁰⁸ Father Bocquet, pastor of St. Anne's remained close to his flock and refused to sound the church bell when the habitants were attending Mass. This was an old siege custom of the French. The church bell was never sounded while any city was besieged because this would give away the fact that the populace was occupied with their spiritual duties. When Gladwin heard this, he ordered the bell be tolled as usual for all religious services. Father Bocquet, speaking for his flock, expressed appreciation for Gladwin's kind consideration.¹⁰⁹ Again, it was a Jesuit priest, Father Dujonis, who arrived with the news of the fall of Michilimackinac and with a personal letter from Captain Etherington to Major Gladwin detailing the massacre there. On June 20, the same priest met with Pontiac and strongly urged a cessation of hostilities. Pontiac courteously refused.¹¹⁰

During July word reached Major Gladwin that some of the French inside the fort were preparing to open the gates at night to allow the Indians to enter. Gladwin, ever cautious, posted his garrison for the danger, but nothing occurred.¹¹¹ Persistent rumors of French treachery reached the Major. Each time he acknowledged the intelligence and took all necessary precautions, but nothing drastic ever occurred. Those habitants who sought refuge within the fort were generally loyal and helpful to the English cause.

¹⁰⁷The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 40. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 208.

¹⁰⁸Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 98. Paré, *The Catholic Church in Detroit 1701-1888*.

¹⁰⁹Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 166.

¹¹⁰The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 32. Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 178. Gladwin to Amherst, July 8, 1763, in the Amherst Papers, volume 2, item 6.

¹¹¹Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 146-48, 190. *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 650, 658.

A third group of habitants, those whom Navarre called "the renegades," were actually made up of many of the leaders of the community. It was at Jacques Meloshe's farm that Dalyell was ambushed. French renegades directed the actual construction of Pontiac's fire rafts¹¹² prior to the attack on the sloop and the schooner. Miney Chene, Jacques Godfroy, Messrs. Beaubien, Chavin, and Labadie waylaid John Welsh, a merchant from Fort Miami, took his supplies, then turned him over to the Potawatomis who killed him.¹¹³

Repatriated British prisoners testified that the French were joyous at Dalyell's defeat. One captive said Charles Dusette threatened to kill him. The same captive stated that Dusette had fought against Dalyell.¹¹⁴ It was also established by courts of inquiry that Miney Chene and Godfroy participated in the taking of Fort Miami on May 27 and that the French flag flew over the post after it had fallen.¹¹⁵ Numerous other prisoners attested to French abuse while in their hands.

The renegades were continually telling Pontiac that a huge French fleet was descending the St. Lawrence, or that a large army was pushing north from Illinois to retake the territory from the British. Whenever the renegades suspected that the Indians were tiring of the siege, they would circulate new rumors of possible French assistance.¹¹⁶

So desperate was the general habitant position that by the middle of October they sent messages to Illinois stating, "God alone can prevent our becoming the victims of the English and Savages." They pleaded, "instruct us what we can do. . . ."¹¹⁷ When the answer arrived that no French relief was to be expected, and that

¹¹²Navarre, *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy* 1763, 216, 218, 224. "Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry . . . , Detroit, October 1, 1763," in the *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 650.

¹¹³"Extract of a Declaration Made to Caesar Cormick . . . at Detroit, June 11, 1763," in the *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 632-33.

¹¹⁴"Court of Inquiry . . . Detroit, September 8, 1763," in the *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 650.

¹¹⁵"Court of Inquiry . . . Detroit, December 20, 1763," in the *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 657-58.

¹¹⁶"Court of Inquiry . . . Detroit, September 8, 1763," in the *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 645; "Court of Inquiry . . . Detroit, February 21, 1764," in the *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 660.

¹¹⁷"Letter sent by the Inhabitants of Detroit to the Gentlemen Commandants at the Illinois," in the *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 645.

it was the wish of the King that all inhabitants assist the British, the residents began sending badly needed wheat to the depressed fort.¹¹⁸ Naturally the "instruction" from the French commander of the Illinois greatly relieved tension in the Detroit area. Only the renegades did not rejoice when the siege was finally ended. A few of them fled to the Illinois territory for fear of being tried as possible war criminals.¹¹⁹

On November 1, 1763, Pontiac agreed to a truce and twelve days later quit the Detroit area.¹²⁰ Gladwin's joy at the ending of the siege was greatly marred by the news that Captain Wilkin's relief regiment was destroyed on the lakes during a violent storm.¹²¹ Even if reinforcements had arrived it was too late in the season to pursue the erstwhile enemy into the forests. Gladwin instead dispatched two hundred men back to Fort Pitt due to the difficulty of feeding them through the bleak winter months. By Christmas the Detroit area was virtually deserted by Indian tribes who were tramping the forests in search of sustenance for themselves and families.

There was little hilarity in Detroit with the retreat of the Indian army—only a collective sigh of relief, which was tempered by the knowledge that the winter would be trying. Strong reinforcements and real security would have to wait until the spring thaw. However, Gladwin was convinced that the Indian uprising had been completely broken. Pontiac had lost from eighty to ninety of his best warriors before Fort Detroit and could not continue in the face of such losses.¹²²

With the return of spring in 1764 the Indians drifted back to Detroit and again there was talk of an attack. Some rifle fire was heard, cattle were killed by the Indians, and some warriors were wounded. Thomas Morris, a British officer on his way to Detroit, was seized by the Indians and physically abused, but he

¹¹⁸The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 80. *Boston Gazette*, March 26, 1764, printed a letter from Detroit dated December 3, 1763. Photostat in Burton Historical Collection.

¹¹⁹Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 301. "Journal of Thomas Morris" in *Early Western Travels 1748-1846*, edited by Thwaites, 1:302.

¹²⁰The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 80.

¹²¹Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2:119. Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 241.

¹²²Gladwin to Amherst, November 1, 1763, in the *Gladwin Manuscripts*, edited by Moore, 676.

was later released.¹²³ Finally on August 24, 1764, the long awaited relief column pushed up the river and arrived at the fort.¹²⁴ It numbered enough to regarrison the abandoned forts, pursue and subjugate the Indian, if necessary, and bring the French renegades to trial. Major Gladwin's request for relief was approved and he departed the frontier. Soon after he sailed for England where he spent the remainder of his life as a country gentleman. Never again was the frontier to endure such a concerted effort of Indian might.

¹²³The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 88. Edward Ellis, *The Life of Pontiac the Conspirator*, 68, (New York, 1861). Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2:121. "Journal of Thomas Morris," in *Early Western Travels 1748-1846*, edited by Thwaites, 1:305-16. *New Hampshire Gazette*, June 1, 1764, photostat in Burton Historical Collection, reports cattle killed by Indians and that members of the garrison were sleeping in their clothes.

¹²⁴The Hay Diary in *Diary of the Siege of Detroit . . .*, edited by Hough, 109.

Michigan News

AT THE EIGHTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY of Michigan, members and friends of the society joined together at Niles on September 28 and 29 to hold a most interesting meeting. This convention will long be remembered not only for the fine program, which sustained the interest and eager participation of those attending, but as well for the constructive accomplishments at the business meeting, where members approved constitutional changes designed to improve the financial condition of the organization.

Registration records reveal that ninety-one members and fifty-eight guests attended. No less than twenty-two local historical societies were represented. The Friday luncheon had places laid for one hundred and eight people—seven short of what was needed. One hundred and twenty sat down together at the Friday dinner and Saturday luncheon, thus marking one unusual feature of this meeting—folks came early and stayed late.

Based on the theme "Development of a Valley," the entire program was organized to acquaint the audience with the history of the surrounding area and the City of Four Flags. The Friday morning session was comprised of a series of reports on the development of the area under each of the four flags. Speakers were Mrs. Frances J. Plym, Wilbur M. Cunningham, Wilbur C. Hawes, and Mrs. Ralph Ballard. Miss Jeanne Griffin presided. At the luncheon Mr. Paul Winger, superintendent of the Niles schools, spoke on the Indian culture of the St. Joseph River valley. The afternoon session was devoted to a panel report of local historical society activity by Madison Kuhn, Louis W. Doll, and Charles Follo. F. Clever Bald presided. The annual business meeting followed.

At this business meeting the members adopted three constitutional amendments which will enable the trustees to establish an endowment fund to be sustained by the income from all life memberships. A third class of membership was created which will enable corporations to become life members for a period of thirty years. This action is largely the result of the initiative of Trustee Roscoe Bonisteel of Ann Arbor who has obtained six life members at \$100 each. Trustee

George Osborn of Sault Ste Marie reported that he had solicited one life member. Enthusiasm engendered by this announcement led Mrs. Rachel C. Spear of Marquette to become a life member. Thus the fund is already off to a good start with \$800 on hand.

At the same time the trustees took action to strengthen the financial condition of the society. Increased costs of material and personnel seemed to demand a dues increase. Regular membership will be \$5 annually, family membership \$6, contributing membership \$25, joint state and local society membership \$5, less dues paid to the local society. This dues increase should enable the society to continue its program of service to Michigan history.

Five new trustees were elected: Kenyon Boyer of Marquette; Louis W. Doll of Bay City; Mrs. Gertrude Johnston of Niles; Milo M. Quaife of Detroit; and Lewis G. Vander Velde of Ann Arbor. With this announcement the business meeting adjourned.

After a delightful tea at the home of Mrs. Ernest E. Barber, members and guests reassembled for dinner and the evening session. President Victor Lemmer introduced his successor, Henry E. Edmunds, archivist of the Ford Motor Company; and Henry Brown, director of the Detroit Historical Museum, who will be vice-president during the coming year. Lewis Beeson will continue as secretary-treasurer. Willis Dunbar, as president of the Michigan Historical Commission, awarded a certificate of recognition to Harry McClave, president of the Hillsdale publishing company. It was announced that the *Traverse City Record-Eagle* and the *Monroe Evening News*, had received awards from the society for their contribution to the promotion of local history. The awards were presented the same day by Mr. Michael Church, chairman of the newspaper awards committee, in Ann Arbor, at the thirty-ninth annual meeting of the University Press Club.

Ellen Hathaway, of the school activities council, announced the award of a certificate of merit to a yet undetermined number of schools for their work in Michigan history. Michael B. Williams, president of the Potawatomi Indians of Indiana and Michigan, delivered the major address of the evening—"To Him that Hath."

Saturday morning was bright and clear, perfect weather for the historic tour which was directed by George Fox, president of the Cass County Historical Society. High points of this tour were the

memorial to Father Allouez, the site of the oldest continuous settlement in lower Michigan (Fort St. Joseph), and the site of the Carey Mission. This last was brought vividly to life when the members and friends assembled in one of the auditoriums of the new city high school to watch a student presentation called "You Are There—Carey Mission."

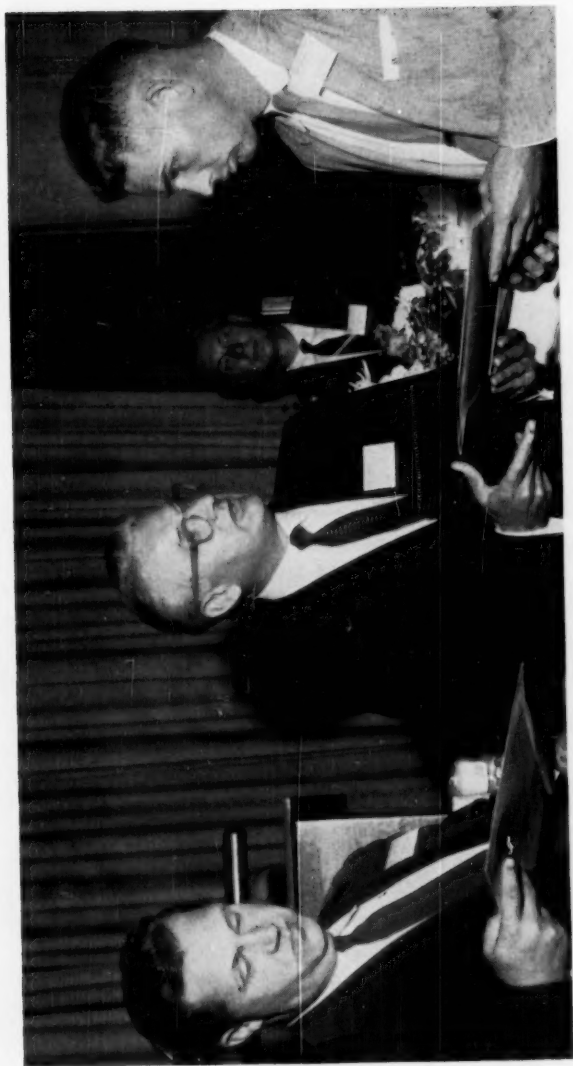
The final session of the convention followed a delightful luncheon in the school cafeteria. Thomas A. Garvin of the Niles Toastmasters Club read selections from the writings of Ring Lardner to provide the setting for the major address by Richard L. Tobin of the New York *Herald-Tribune*. Mr. Tobin, a nephew of the famous writer, is an accomplished journalist, author, and speaker. The intimate picture of Lardner thus presented was the perfect climax to a meeting which can only be described as excellent.

V. B.

THE SEVENTH ANNUAL UPPER PENINSULA HISTORICAL CONFERENCE sponsored by the Historical Society of Michigan met Friday and Saturday, August 24 and 25, at Crystal Falls with the Finnish Historical Society of Hiawathaland as host. Conferees began to register at 10:00 A.M. at the city hall and to observe the exhibits on display in the auditorium. Two films: "The Lumbering Era in Michigan" with Dr. Lewis Beeson, secretary-treasurer of the state Historical Society of Michigan, of Lansing, as narrator; and "Saugus Ironworks Restoration" with Charles Follo, supervisor of the University of Michigan Extension Service at Escanaba, narrator, comprised the morning session.

Luncheon was served at the Emmanuel Lutheran Church under the direction of Mrs. Hulda Erkkila. Attractive napkins showing the peninsulas in outline and giving interesting facts about the state, and colored post cards of a group of Ojibwa Indians in Iron County showing their chief, Mush-Que-No-Na-Bi, and his wife, Pen-To-Go, taken in 1898, were souvenirs placed at each plate. Also a pamphlet on the hospitable Finnish in the typical Finnish colors of blue and white was presented to each person.

The invocation was given by the Rev. Alex Tamminen, followed by a moment of silence in memory of Mrs. Nestor Erkkila of Negau-



PAUL HINES
Monroe Evening News

MICHAEL CHURCH

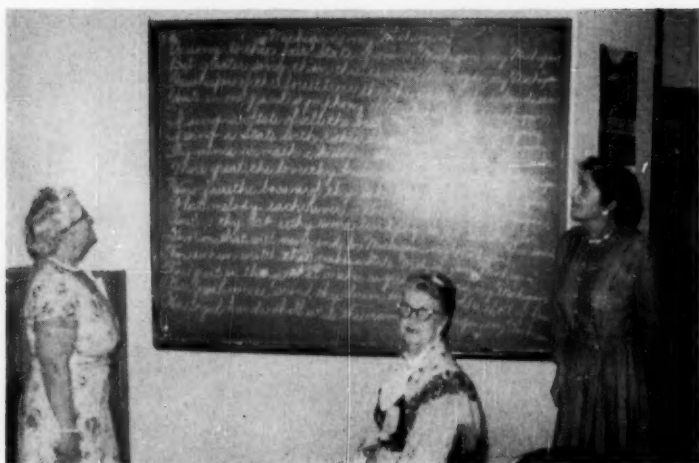
JOHN H. BATDORF
Traverse City Record Eagle





UPPER PENINSULA HISTORICAL CONFERENCE AT CRYSTAL FALLS

MRS. MILMA PALOMAKI, MRS. MARY CANALE, MRS. EDITH ASPHOLM, MRS. LEMPI TURUNEN,
MRS. EMIL POINT, MRS. JOHN HARMANMAA, MRS. JOHN HJELT



MICHIGAN MY MICHIGAN BY DOUGLAS MALLOCH

MRS. ELIZABETH WATHEN, MRS. EDITH ASPHOLM, MRS. DOUGLAS MALLOCH



MRS. HELEN EVERETT, MR. VICTOR LEMMER, MRS. EDITH ASPHOLM

nee, wife of the president of the Negaunee chapter of the Finnish Historical Society of Hiawathaland.

Mrs. Edith Aspholm of Iron River, general chairman of the conference, welcomed the group. She read a letter from Hjalmar Makela of Crystal Falls, secretary and archives keeper of the Finnish Historical Society of Hiawathaland, which was in Finnish. She then translated it into English. Mrs. Aspholm introduced the pioneers of the Finnish Historical Society of Hiawathaland and presented Mrs. Carl Nevaranta, at whose home in Commonwealth, Wisconsin, in 1938, the society was organized. The other members included Hjalmar Makila, Mr. and Mrs. John Harmanmaa of Crystal Falls, Mr. and Mrs. Chas. Raatikainen, and Mrs. Edith Aspholm of Iron River. Following the group singing of "Michigan My Michigan" written by the late Douglas Malloch, Mrs. Douglas Malloch was presented. Also presented was Mrs. Elizabeth Wathen, curator of the Muskegon County Museum, who had worked with Mr. Malloch. Special musical selections by the Trinity Lutheran Church group from Stambaugh were enjoyed.

Mr. Victor Lemmer, president of the Historical Society of Michigan, presided at the afternoon session at which time local societies gave their reports on the activities and accomplishments of the past year. Represented were: Finnish Historical Society of Hiawathaland by Mrs. John Harmanmaa; Houghton County by Mr. Verner Makinen, who suggested that the responsibility for the exhibits of the Civil War relics in the rotunda of the state capitol at Lansing be placed in the hands of the Michigan Historical Commission in order to promote better exhibits; Dr. Konstant Koski of Rolla, North Dakota, formerly of Iron River and still a member of the local Finnish historical society, who reported on the newly organized chapter in Rolla and the dedication in Rolla of a monument erected to honor the Finnish pioneers. Mr. Joseph Gregorich, archivist of the Baragaland Historical Society, reported for that group. Miss Phyllis Robertson of Blissfield reported for Lenawee County; Mrs. Mary Manley of Flint for the Genesee County Historical Society; Dr. Eugene Peterson, curator of the state museum at Lansing, for the Greater Lansing Area Historical Society. Mr. Fred Trelfa of Alpena described the development of his hobby of picture collections and other early fur-trading manuscripts dating back to the 1830's

and 1840's. Miss Florence Roberts of Duluth, Minnesota, spoke of the children's museum in Duluth; Mrs. Elizabeth Wathen reported for the Muskegon County Historical Society; Mr. Charles Follo described the activities of the Delta County Historical Society and the opening in May of the Delta County Museum at Escanaba; Mrs. Carrol Paul, curator of the Marquette County Historical Museum, reported the acquisition and restoration of the Burt house which was built around 1857. Mrs. Beulah Miller of Sault Ste Marie reported for the Chippewa County Historical Society and stated that the city had given an appropriation of \$2000 for the continuing rehabilitation of the Schoolcraft and Johnston houses. Mr. Joseph Gill, president of the Historical Society of Gogebic County, reported on that society's activities and on the erection of the official county Indian head signs. At the discussion following the reports, Mrs. Chase S. Osborn of Duck Island, Sault Ste Marie, talked on the Atlantic Union Committee program.

One hundred and eighteen attended the dinner Friday night at the Crystal Inn. The invocation was given by the Rev. Matt Salmeen of Detroit. Mr. Follo, as toastmaster, thanked Mrs. Lemi Auvinen and Mrs. Milna Palmomaki for the decorations of the miniature *kantele* (Finnish musical instrument resembling a harp) made by Ed Wiitinen of Crystal Falls. Miss Myrtle Elliott, chairman of last year's conference held at Sault Ste Marie, sent greetings from London, England. Mrs. John Harmanmaa explained the history and meaning of the colorful Finnish costumes and told an amusing story of the Finnish *pukko*. Dr. Beeson, on behalf of the state society, accepted the gift of Mr. Lemmer of an ore and mineral collection of the Upper Peninsula, mounted, arranged and classified.

The dinner meeting adjourned to the city hall auditorium where a beautiful pageant under the direction of Mrs. Lempi Auvinen was presented. Allan L. Niemi, director of music at Northern Michigan College at Marquette, accompanied by Mrs. Waino Lahti of Iron River, delighted the audience with two violin solos. Dr. Bert Heide-man of Michigan College of Mining and Technology spoke on "The Finnish Room of Michigan Tech Union Building and Finnish Americans."

Ideal weather greeted the conferees on Saturday morning. Sixty people joined the guided tour with Jack Hill as narrator. Spots of

interest were the Western and Fairbanks locations and site of the first iron mine on the shore of Paint River, Memory Lane Drive, Fortune Lake open pit mine where a guide explained the workings of the mine, Bewabic Park on Fortune Lake, Pentoga Trail scenic drive, Pentoga Park and Indian Cemetery where the Indian graves were inspected, a guided trip underground in the Cannon Iron Mine, the Carrie Jacobs Bond home, and the exhibit of Guy Gustafson at his garage in Iron River. A refreshing stop was made at Martin's Cafe, where excellent coffee and delicious doughnuts and rolls were the gift of the proprietor.

The Saturday noon luncheon at the Emmanuel Lutheran Church, under the direction of Mrs. Lauri Morton of Crystal Falls, was a bountiful smorgasbord consisting of a combination of American and Finnish dishes: *filia*, *juustoa*, *sillsalad*, *nisua*, and homemade rye bread. The Rev. Martin Halinen offered the invocation and Mr. George Osborn, editor and publisher of the Sault Ste Marie *Evening News*, was toastmaster. Special music included the "End of a Perfect Day" written by Carrie Jacobs Bond in 1909. Mrs. Aspholm told the story of the life of Mrs. Bond as given in the *History of Iron County* written by Jack L. Hill. Then came *Hyvasti*.

All the Upper Peninsula historical societies contributed to the conference. In the Finnish exhibit were many pieces of handwoven wool and linen materials, wood carving, china, and copper articles which had been brought from Finland. The wood carving depicting the "Kalevala" was hand carved by Yrjo Pohjansela, nephew of the late Charles Aspholm of Iron River and son of Emil Aspholm who was killed in an accident in the Bristol Mine at Crystal Falls in 1905. It was sent to Mrs. Edith Aspholm in appreciation of her kindness in sending bundles of food and clothing to her late husband's relatives during the war years.

Following adjournment of the meeting, the film "Underground Development in the Wauseca Mine," which is in the Mineral Hill area, narrated by Robert Rombouts was shown at the city hall. It is an outstanding film taken of an underground mine working.

The excellent program, the beautiful pageant, the interesting tour, the colorful costumes, the fine exhibits, the delicious meals, and the gracious hospitality of the people of Iron County and the Finnish Historical Society of Hiawathaland, which was due to hard work,

cooperation, Finnish *sisu*, and the prayerful efforts of the community under the able leadership of Mrs. Edith Aspholm, will make the Seventh Annual Upper Peninsula Historical Conference long to be remembered.

PROFESSOR EMIL LORCH LONG AN ACTIVE MEMBER and trustee of the Historical Society of Michigan, chairman of its committee on architecture, and contributor to *Michigan History* was honored at a special convocation of the College of Architecture and Design of the University of Michigan at its fiftieth anniversary on October 25, 1956. The citation conferring the honorary degree of doctor of architecture pointed to his "leadership, his vision, and his indefatigable spirit . . . his inquiring mind and his intellectual acumen . . . His constructive influence is active today in the Michigan registration law for architects, which he helped to write, and the National Council for Architectural Registration Laws, which he helped to organize, and the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, which he helped to found." He was the first chairman of the department of architecture and the first director of the college of architecture. At present he is a member of the planning group of the committee on the preservation of historic buildings of the American Institute of Architects.

Book Reviews and Notes

Charles Beard and the Constitution: A Critical Analysis of "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution." By Robert E. Brown. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1956. 219 p. Index. \$3.50.)

A new challenge to an old idea, this book is the latest effort to excise the influence of Charles A. Beard from some part of the study of American history. The author, a historian at Michigan State University, says not only that Beard's famous (or infamous) interpretation of the United States constitution was wrong, but also that Beard's historical method was bad. The book is more than rhetorically persuasive; in fact, its rhetoric, while adequate, is certainly not its forte. But this "critical appraisal" is detailed, documented—and devastating. The reader will lay it down almost bemused, wondering how "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution" managed to survive forty years and more in a world of critical scholars.

A return to the Beard volume, and a quick excursion through the dozen nearest recent textbooks brings the picture into more credible perspective.

In brief, Beard originally suggested that the constitution was created and promulgated to serve a particular kind of large property interest, described by the term "personalty." He inserted occasional, unobtrusive apologies for certain deficiencies in his evidence and he avoided any direct assault on the honor or patriotism of the founding fathers. Yet it was clear in Beard's account that the gentlemen at Philadelphia and their associates in the provinces were attending a matter of great pecuniary interest to them in 1787 and 1788, and their tactics were made to seem high-handed and undemocratic.

Professor Brown has done a definitive job of laying to rest Beard's thesis, when stated this way. But he has administered the coup de grace to a creature which was at best clearly moribund. For the great impact of Beard's book was not that he sold everybody on the idea that the struggles of 1787-88 represented the triumph of personalty over reality, nor that the original Federalists were basically self-seeking capitalists who of necessity turned politicians. In the main, it was rather its dramatic manner of urging that economic considerations played a great role in the formation and acceptance of the basic law of our land. This removes much of the sting, and makes it possible for most historians to agree, including Professor Brown: "Beard would have been on safer ground if he had stuck to property in general, not personalty. Then he would simply have had to show that most of the people were property owners and also

believed in the protection of property. This would have gotten him much closer to a more nearly accurate interpretation of the Constitution" (p. 136) This was observed by Edward S. Corwin, too, in 1914: "Professor Beard is upon safer ground when he asserts that a leading purpose of the Convention was to secure the rights of property against the sort of attacks that these rights had been undergoing at the hands of the state legislatures." The "Beard influence" in the writing of this part of American history often turns out to be just an idea, plus greater attention to economic forces in general.

The part of Beard's thesis which deals with the tactics of the founding fathers is of greater concern for students of American history. Here Professor Brown excels by virtue of his solid contributions to our understanding of political processes at that time in his justly praised *Middle Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780*. Although one may not wish to go all the way in calling it a "democratic society," certainly democratic political procedures existed in New England. Professor Brown is convincing when he suggests that there is good evidence of democracy in some other places, too. However, one must weigh his statements against somewhat conflicting ones in other recent monographs, particularly those of Charles S. Sydnor and Elisha P. Douglass. More research is needed on this; Professor Brown is doing some, and he invites others to join him.

Aside from Beard's interpretation, there remains the matter of his historical method, and his philosophy of history. These are really the big questions which interest anybody who thinks seriously about history. In this case, they also suggest some unpleasant reflections, which Professor Brown does not spell out. But he doesn't have to spell them out.

Most of *Charles Beard and the Constitution* is a chapter-by-chapter scrutiny of Beard's use—or abuse—of historical evidence. All the high crimes of historianship are revealed here: arbitrary selection of portions of the evidence, omission of items unfavorable to the historian's thesis, verbal cunning, and the rest. Recalling that other works of the same author have received similar criticism, we can read again Beard's own "Written History as an Act of Faith" and "That Noble Dream" (*American Historical Review*, 39:219-29 and 41:74-87), and the old ideal of "objective" history may seem worth struggling for, after all.

This is Professor Brown's main concern: Beard's historical method. His perusal of it raises many, many items of great interest to all serious students of American history. Both the content and the implications of this able volume will surely stimulate more thinking on the origins of the United States constitution, and on how historians ought to do their work.

Wayne State University

RICHARD D. MILES

The Presbyterian Enterprise. Edited by Maurice W. Armstrong, Lefferts A. Loetscher and Charles A. Anderson. (Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1956. 336 p. Index. \$4.50.)

This book is much more interesting than the casual reader might expect on the basis of its title alone. It is not the usual familiar church propaganda record that the title might suggest; rather it is a collection of original documents that coalesce into an ecclesiastical history but at the same time suggest to a large degree the history of America during two and a half centuries.

The general reader with no special interest in this particular church body can find in the book many sections that constitute genuine adventures in reading.

Thus, immediately in the first chapter, the editors produce a court record of pre-Revolutionary New York telling the story of the arrest and imprisonment of two traveling Presbyterian ministers charged with holding religious meetings without a license of the governor, Lord Cornbury. The document, given verbatim, is a thrilling defense of religious freedom by two humble ministers who refused to be overawed by a British Lord. The religious freedom clause in our Bill of Rights grew out of just such acts of defiance against tyranny in many sections of the country.

Then there is the story of the Presbyterian church and slavery. It is at this point that Michigan prominently enters the act. In 1835 the Synod of Michigan came out vigorously against slavery: "Resolved, That this synod believe the buying, selling and owning of slaves in this country, to be A Sin Before God and man: that the system of American slavery is a great moral, political and social evil, and ought to be immediately and universally abandoned." A quarter of a century later many Michigan boys died to make good that pronouncement.

These two instances reflect the general character of the book. Adopting a chronological order, the editors print original documents covering a period of some two and a half centuries: personal letters, sermons, court records, resolutions, newspaper articles, minutes of ecclesiastical gatherings. There is no church propaganda, there are merely brief editorial notes to make the documents intelligible.

The pioneer period is perhaps the most interesting to the general reader. There are, for instance, original documents describing orgiastic frontier camp meetings that surpass in reader interest such a fictional treatment of the same theme as William Dean Howells' *The Leatherstocking*. If a modern psychology has portrayed such movements as pathological, with perhaps sexual implications, the evidence rests on just such documents as are reproduced in this section.

This is as much a book for the nonecclesiastical reader as it is for students of church history and ministers who are hopefully invited

in the Foreword to purchase it. The book can serve as a valuable addition to the library of any reader who combines catholicity of interest with respect for facts that are reasonably free from editorial propaganda.

Kalamazoo College

ARNOLD MULDER

James Gillespie Birney: Slaveholder to Abolitionist. By Betty Fladeland. (Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1955. vii, 323 p. Illustrations, bibliography, and index, \$5.00.)

In 1818 James G. Birney (1792-1857), a Kentuckian with a Princeton education, moved to Alabama where he purchased land and slaves with a view to becoming a planter-lawyer. Failing as a planter he turned to law and in a few years rose to a position of statewide prominence and influence. Then occurred the event which changed the whole course of Birney's life—his conversion to Presbyterianism. Determined to "devote his life to the cause of truth in some moral or religious enterprise," Birney took up the cause of "unhappy Africa" and from 1832 to 1845 dedicated his life to the struggle against American Negro slavery—first as a gradualist who favored colonization, and ultimately as an advocate of immediate abolition. All of this was done at great personal sacrifice and under the compulsion of a deep-seated moral and intellectual conviction that slavery was wrong, and that he should help extirpate this evil. In carrying on his mission Birney resided in four states—Kentucky, Ohio, New York, and Michigan—and served as an agent of the American Colonization Society, as editor-publisher of an abolitionist newspaper, the *Philanthropist*, as secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and as the presidential candidate of the Liberty party in 1840 and 1844.

Confronting such seemingly insurmountable obstacles as Garrisonian radicalism, Northern indifference and hostility, and Southern reaction, Birney pressed forward with dogged determination. As a moderate, practical reformer, he attempted to win converts by moral suasion coupled later with political action. Throughout much of his career as an active abolitionist he and his family were threatened with bodily harm, and on one occasion an angry mob destroyed his press and tore apart the office of the *Philanthropist*.

With one exception this story of Birney's life has sound and well documented conclusions. Dr. Fladeland argues that when Birney purchased slaves and practiced slavery in Alabama, he continued to hope for the gradual extinction of the slave system. No convincing evidence is presented to support this contention. One may well ponder what Birney's life might have been had he succeeded as a slaveholding planter!

In preparing this study the author made careful use of an earlier biography by William Birney, and did extensive research in the Birney manuscripts, local and state records, newspapers, and numerous manuscript materials. The fruit of this research is a clear, concise, well organized biography which contains not only fresh detail on Birney as an abolitionist, but much hitherto unknown information on the early and late years of his life. Special mention should be made of the excellent treatment of the Garland Forgery, the relationship between Weld and Birney, and the latter's position with regard to broadening the base of the Liberty party after 1844. Although this volume perpetuates the evangelistic interpretation of the abolitionist movement, the author is admirably judicious in dealing with the Garrisonians. All students of the pre-Civil War period should read this impressive biography of a man whose complete life has remained in historical limbo an entire century.

Michigan State University

FREDERICK D. WILLIAMS

Chronicles of Wisconsin. By James I. Clark. (Madison, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1955. Illustrations, notes, and bibliography.)

The *Chronicles of Wisconsin*, by James I. Clark, consist of a series of sixteen paper covered pamphlets each twenty pages in length. Their titles are as follows: 1. *Wisconsin Land of Frenchmen, Indians, and the Beaver.* 2. *The British Leave Wisconsin—The War of 1812.* 3. *The Wisconsin Lead Region—Frontier Community.* 4. *Wisconsin Grows to Statehood—Immigration and Internal Improvements.* 5. *Wisconsin Defies the Fugitive Slave Law—The Case of Sherman M. Booth.* 6. *The Civil War of Private Cooke—A Wisconsin Boy on the Union Army.* 7. *Wisconsin Agriculture—The Rise of the Dairy Cow.* 8. *Farm Machinery in Wisconsin.* 9. *The Wisconsin Pineries—Logging on the Chippewa.* 10. *Farming the Cutover—The Settlement of Northern Wisconsin.* 11. *Robert La Follette and Wisconsin Progressivism.* 12. *Wisconsin Women Fight for Suffrage.* 13. *Cutover Problems—Colonization, Depression, Reforestation.* 14. *Wisconsin Meets the Great Depression.* 15. *The Wisconsin Pulp and Paper Industry.* 16. *The Wisconsin Labor Story.*

These attractively bound pamphlets in no way constitute a complete survey of the history of the commonwealth of Wisconsin. What the author has done is to select sixteen topics dealing with Wisconsin's development and then treat each one in an interesting manner. Mr. Clark writes in a very interesting style that carries the reader along with him in a rapid movement. In general he has stressed the economic and social phases of Wisconsin's history.

The pamphlets, as one can see from their titles, are not exactly chronologically arranged but are rather more topically developed. They contain many worth-while pictures, maps, and illustrations which add interest to the text material. Each pamphlet contains a short bibliography which would lead a student into further study of the topic if he wishes to pursue it in more detail.

In reading these pamphlets anyone acquainted with Michigan history is constantly aware of the many similarities in the historical development of both Michigan and Wisconsin. Both states have a common French and English period, a story of mineral production, a history of logging and sawmills, a story of the submarginal cutover lands and the futile struggle of farmers in trying to establish farms in these areas, the problem of reforestation of these cutover lands, the rise of stable agricultural and dairying in more favorable areas, the rise and development of lake ports and lake shipping.

These pamphlets by Mr. Clark should be very usable at the junior high school level. They contain valuable material that could be used as supplementary reading for high school students taking United States history who are interested in a more complete development of the Great Lakes area. In this respect I would especially recommend the following pamphlets as being adaptive to supplement the ordinary text book on United States history: *Wisconsin Defies the Fugitive Slave Law—The Case of Sherman M. Booth*; *Wisconsin Agriculture—The Rise of the Dairy Cow*; *The Wisconsin Pineries—Logging on the Chippewa*; *Robert M. La Follette and Wisconsin Progressivism*; and *The Wisconsin Pulp and Paper Industry*.

Henry Ford Community College

FERRIS E. LEWIS

EARLY PONTIAC AND OAKLAND COUNTY, an eleven page pamphlet produced by the Pontiac City Library, lists the histories, personal memoirs, biographies, and newspapers available to its readers. It also lists forty pictures in its collection of early Pontiac. The excerpts are well chosen to induce further reading.

Contributors

Charles A. Lewis is administrative assistant in the division of press and publications at Wayne State University. During World War II, Dr. Lewis was an army public relations officer serving overseas in the European theatre and on several similar assignments in the United States. He is presently a lieutenant colonel in the army reserve corps.

Dr. Florence Woolsey Hazzard resided in Washtenaw County during her husband's twenty years as director of the institute for fisheries research. She has done extensive research on American women in history. When a member of the Washtenaw County Historical Society she became interested in pioneer women of her own county. She now lives near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Lillian Green Dykstra received her LL.B. from the University of Michigan. In collaboration with her husband, Gerald O. Dykstra, who is professor of business law in the school of business administration at the University of Michigan, she has coauthored the following books: *Business Law, Text and Cases*; *Government and Business*; *Business Law of Aviation*; and *Business Law of Real Estate*. Research in local history has been a hobby in intervals of diversion from legal research.

Mrs. Helen Everett is associate editor of *Michigan History*. She took her undergraduate work at Kalamazoo College where she received the B.A. degree with a major in history and minor in languages. She has had some post graduate work at Teachers College, Columbia University, and at Michigan State University.

George S. May received his Ph. D. in history from the University of Michigan in 1954. He was a research associate with the State Historical Society of Iowa from 1954 until July, 1956, when he joined the Michigan Historical Commission as historic sites specialist, where he is working on the new marking program.

N. Franklin Hurt took his undergraduate work at Indiana University where he majored in history. He is a candidate for the masters degree in history at Michigan State University. His thesis is "Charles James Fox as Leader of His Majesty's Opposition in the Era of the French Revolution."

Myles M. Platt is a native of Detroit. He took his undergraduate work at the University of Detroit, his master's degree from Wayne University, and at present is working on his doctorate at the University of Michigan in public administration.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946.

Of Michigan History magazine published quarterly at Lansing, Michigan, for December, 1956. State of Michigan, County of Ingham, ss.

Before me, a notary public, in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Lewis Beeson, who having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the Michigan History magazine and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933 and July 2, 1946, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher and editor are: publisher, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan; editor, Lewis Beeson, Lansing, Michigan; managing editors and business managers, none.

2. That the owner is: the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan; Willis F. Dunbar, president, Kalamazoo; Willard C. Wichers, vice-president, Holland; Lewis Beeson, executive secretary, Lansing. No stock.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and the other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: none.

LEWIS BEESON, *Editor*.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of October, 1956.

GERTRUDE I. DOMKE, *Notary Public*.

My commission expires August 17, 1957.

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The Historical Society of Michigan is an organization maintained and managed by Michigan citizens who are interested in the history of their state. It includes teachers, business men, professional people, and others who write history, study history, or just enjoy reading history. Its purpose is to encourage historical research and publication and to foster local historical societies throughout the state. Membership dues to individuals, libraries, and institutions are \$5.00 per year. *Michigan History* is sent to each member.

The Michigan Historical Commission is an official state body, consisting of six members appointed by the Governor. It was first established by an act of the legislature in 1913. The Commission is custodian of the state's archives; it compiles, edits, and publishes Michigan materials; and seeks to cultivate, through the Historical Society of Michigan and other groups, a continuing interest in the history of Michigan from the early times to the present.

Michigan History is a quarterly journal containing articles by qualified writers on Michigan subjects, reviews of books related to Michigan and its past and, news of historical activities in the state. Contributions are invited. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan.

The Commission maintains at Lansing the Michigan Historical Museum, a rich storehouse of artifacts and documents related to the history of the state.

Among the activities of the Commission and the Society are the following: an annual meeting is held each year in October, at which tours and talks on Michiganiana are enjoyed; books and pamphlets are published from time to time; a conference on the teaching of Michigan materials is held annually; historical celebrations are encouraged in various parts of the state; a program of marking historical places is sponsored; guidance is provided to local governmental and state agencies on the destruction of useless records and the preservation of records having historical value.